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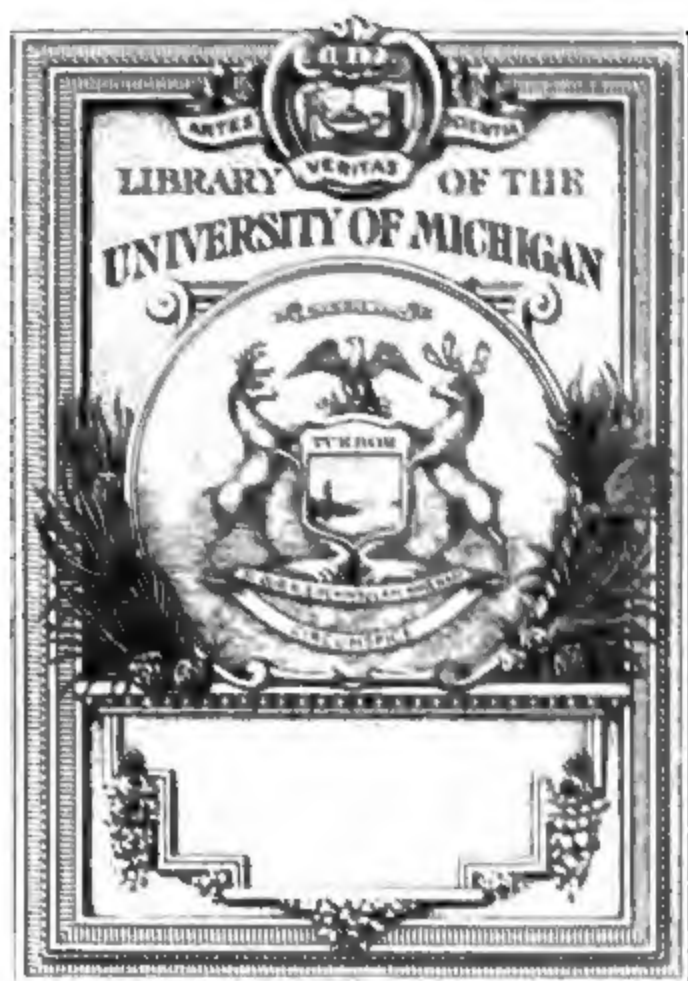
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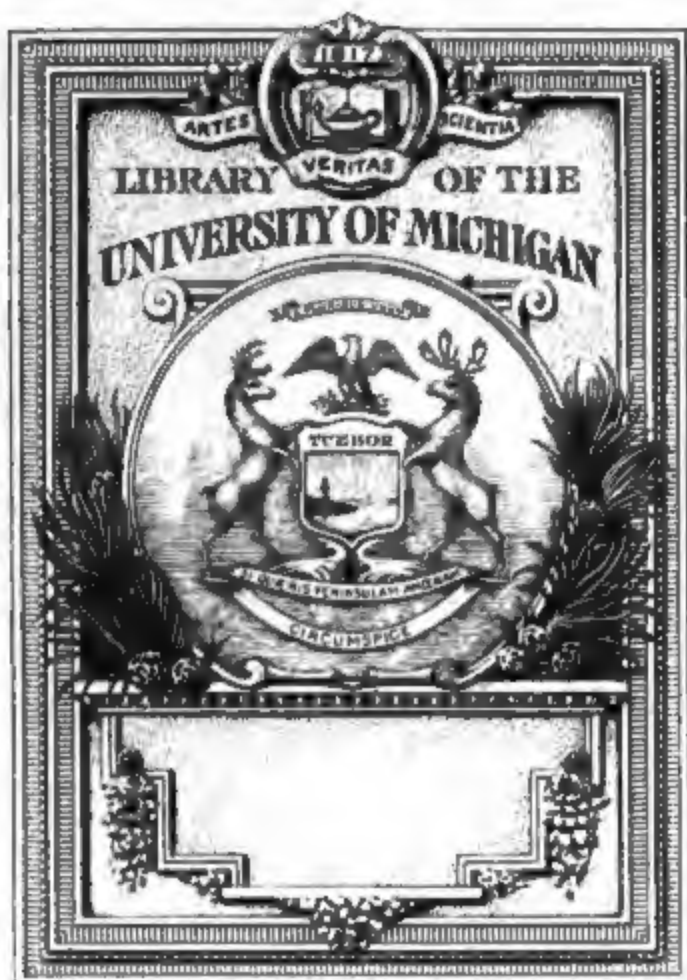
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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

FROM THE AMERICAN NATION: A HISTORY
EDITED BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.



Chautauqua Press
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS book affords consecutive views of social conditions, with some account of economic forces, in the life of the American people from the days of the first colonies. These accounts of life, occupations, literature, religious beliefs, and other phases have been selected from the works of the distinguished scholars who are the authors of the twenty-seven volumes which form the pre-eminent history of our country entitled *The American Nation*.

In his general introduction to that history the editor, Prof. A. B. Hart, writes that "it must include the social life of the people, their religion, their literature, and their schools. It must include their economic life, occupations, labor systems, and organizations of capital." While this book has been prepared with emphasis upon social history, yet social and economic phases are inevitably interwoven, and both are presented with some references to other conditions where this had seemed necessary. The purpose has been to indicate essentials, and therefore these successive views of social and economic phases afford a practically consecutive and

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

succinct epitome of phases of American life which are apt to be obscured by other aspects in general histories. The view which is given by the scholars who have written *The American Nation* will, it is believed, supply interpretations of peculiar interest to general readers and will prove of distinctive value in certain fields of college work in American history. It should be added that these chapters have been selected chronologically by the publishers, with references to the authors and the volumes represented.

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a strong protest to Parliament. Not long after another vessel of Parliament attacked a ship belonging to persons from Dartmouth in sympathy with the king. This time Winthrop turned the guns of the battery upon the parliamentary captain and made him pay a barrel of powder for his insolence.¹

The same summary action was adopted in regard to the growing demand for a freer suffrage. In May, 1646, an able and respectful petition was presented to the general court for the removal of the civil disabilities of all members of the churches of England and Scotland, signed by William Vassall, Samuel Maverick, Dr. Robert Child, and four other prominent Presbyterians. The petition was pronounced seditious and scandalous, and the petitioners were roundly fined. When Child set out for England with his grievances, he was arrested and his baggage searched. Then, to the horror of the rulers of Massachusetts, there was discovered a petition addressed to Parliament, suggesting that Presbyterianism should be established in New England and that a general governor should be sent over. The signers, brought before the court, were fined more heavily than before and imprisoned for six months. At length Vassall and his friends contrived to reach England, expecting to receive the aid of the Presbyterian party in Parliament; but misfortune overtook them there as in Massachusetts, for the In-

¹ Winthrop, *New England*, II., 222-224, 228, 238-240.

dependents were now in control and no help could be obtained from them.¹

The agitation in England in favor of Presbyterianism, and the petition of Vassall and his friends in Massachusetts, induced the general court in May, 1646, to invite the clergy to meet at Cambridge, "there to discuss, dispute, and clear up, by the word of God, such questions of church government and discipline as they should think needful and meet," until "one form of government and discipline" should be determined upon. The "synod" met September 1, 1646, and after remaining in session fourteen days they adjourned. In August, 1648, after the downfall of Presbyterianism in England, another meeting was held, and a plan of church government was agreed upon, by which order and unity were introduced among members theoretically independent.²

By a unanimous vote the synod adopted "a platform" approving the confession of faith of the Westminster divines, except as to those parts which favored the Presbyterian discipline. The bond of union was found in the right of excluding an offending church from fellowship and of calling in the civil power for the suppression of idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, etc. The platform recognized the prerogative of occasional synods to give advice and admoni-

¹ *New England's Jonas Cast Up at London* (Force, *Tracts*, IV., No. iii.); Winthrop, *New England*, II., 319, 340, 358, 391.

² Winthrop, *New England*, II., 329, 330, 402.

tion to churches in their collective capacity, but general officers and permanent assemblies, like those of the Presbyterian and Anglican churches, armed with coercive power to act upon individuals, were disclaimed.¹

Nevertheless, by the organization thus effected, the benumbing influence of the Calvinistic faith upon the intellectual life of New England was fully established, and the deaths of John Winthrop and John Cotton, which happened not long after, were the forerunners of what Charles Francis Adams styles the "glacial period of Massachusetts."² Both Winthrop and Cotton were believers in aristocracy in state and church, but the bigotry of Winthrop was relieved by his splendid business capacity and that of Cotton by his comparative gentleness and tenderness of heart.

"Their places were taken by two as arrant fanatics as ever breathed"³—John Endicott, who was governor for thirteen out of fifteen years following Winthrop's death, and John Norton, an able and upright but narrow and intolerant clergyman. The persecuting spirit which had never been absent in Massachusetts reached, under these leaders, its climax in the wholesale hanging of Quakers and witches.

In the year of Cotton's death (1652), which was

¹ Mather, *Magnalia*, book V.

² Adams, *Massachusetts, its Historians and its History*, 59.

³ Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, 179.

the year that Virginia surrendered to the Parliamentary commissioners and the authority of the English Parliament was recognized throughout English America, the population of New England could not have been far short of fifty thousand. For the settlements along the sea the usual mode of communication was by water, but there was a road along the whole coast of Massachusetts. In the interior of the colony, as Johnson boasted, "the wild and uncouth woods were filled with frequented ways, and the large rivers were overlaid with bridges, passable both for horse and foot." ¹

All the conditions of New England tended to compress population into small areas and to force the energies of the people into trade. Ship-building was an early industry, and New England ships vied with the ships of Holland and England in visiting distant countries for commerce.² Manufacturing found early encouragement, and in 1639 a number of clothiers from Yorkshire set up a fulling-mill at Rowley.³ A glass factory was established at Salem in 1641,⁴ and iron works at Lynn in 1643,⁵ under the management of Joseph Jenks. The keenness of the New-Englander in bargains and business became famous.

In Massachusetts the town was the unit of repre-

¹ Johnson, *Wonder Working Providence*, book III., chap. i.

² Weeden, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of New England*, I., 143.

³ Palfrey, *New England*, II., 53.

⁴ *Mass. Col. Records*, I., 344.

⁵ Weeden, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of New England*, I., 174.

sentation and taxation, and in local matters it governed itself. The first town government appears to have been that of Dorchester, where the inhabitants agreed, October 8, 1633, to hold a weekly meeting "to settle and sett down such orders as may tend to the general good."¹ Not long after a similar meeting was held in Watertown, and the system speedily spread to the other towns. The plan of appointing a body of "townsmen," or selectmen, to sit between meetings of the towns began in February, 1635, in Charlestown.²

The town-meeting had a great variety of business. It elected the town officers and the deputies to the general court and made ordinances regarding the common fields and pastures, the management of the village herds, roadways, boundary-lines, fences, and many other things. Qualified to share in the deliberations were all freemen and "admitted inhabitants of honest and good conversation" rated at £20 (equivalent to about \$500 to-day).³

In the prevalence of the town system popular education was rendered possible, and a great epoch in the history of social progress was reached when Massachusetts recognized the support of education as a proper function of government. Boston had a school with some sort of public encouragement in 1635,⁴ and in 1642, before schools were required by

¹ Clapp, *Dorchester*, 32.

² Frothingham, *Charlestown*, 51.

³ Howard, *Local Constitutional History*, I., 66.

⁴ Palfrey, *New England*, II., 47.

law, it was enjoined upon the selectmen to "take account from time to time of parents and masters of the ability of the children to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital lawes of the country." ¹ In November, 1647, a general educational law required every town having fifty householders or more to appoint some one to teach children how to read and write, and every town having one hundred householders or more to establish a "grammar (Latin) school" to instruct youth "so far as may be fitted for the university." ²

In 1636 the Massachusetts assembly agreed to give £400 towards "a schoole or Colledge," ³ to be built at Newtown (Cambridge). In 1638 John Harvard died within a year after his arrival, and left his library and "one-half his estate, it being in all about £700, for the erecting of the College." In recognition of this kindly act the general court fitly gave his name to the institution, ⁴ the first founded in the United States.

In 1650 Connecticut copied the Massachusetts law of 1647, and a clause declared that the grammar-schools were to prepare boys for college. The results, however, in practice did not come up to the excellence of the laws, and while in some towns in both Massachusetts and Connecticut a public rate was levied for education, more generally the parents had to pay the teachers, and they were

¹ *Mass. Col. Records*, II., 9.

² *Ibid.*, 203.

³ *Ibid.*, I., 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 253.

hard to secure. When obtained they taught but two or three months during the year.¹ Bad spelling and wretched writing were features of the age from which New England was not exempt. Real learning was confined, after all, to the ministers and the richer classes in the New England colonies, pretty much as in the mother-country. In Plymouth and Rhode Island, where the hard conditions of life rendered any legal system of education impracticable, illiteracy was frequent. The class of ignorant people most often met with in New England were fishermen and the small farmers of the inland townships.

Scarcity of money was felt in New England as in Virginia, and resort was had to the use of wampum as a substitute,² and corn, cattle, and other commodities were made legal tenders in payment of debts.³ In 1652 a mint was established at Boston, and a law was passed providing for the coinage of all bullion, plate, and Spanish coin into "twelve-penny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces." The master of the mint was John Hull, and the shillings coined by him were called "Pine-Tree Shillings," because they bore on one side the legend "Massachusetts" encircling a tree.⁴

¹ Weeden, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of New England*, I., 282, II., 861.

² Weeden, *Indian Money as a Factor in New England Colonization* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, II., Nos. viii., ix.).

³ *Mass. Col. Records*, I., 110; *Conn. Col. Records*, I., 8.

⁴ *Mass. Col. Records*, IV., pt. i., 84, 118.

Marriage was a mere civil contract, and the burials took place without funeral service or sermon. Stern laws were made against card-playing, long hair, drinking healths, and wearing certain articles, such as gold and silver girdles, hat-bands, belts, ruffs, and beaver hats. There were no Christmas festivals and no saints' days nor recognized saints, though special feasts and thanksgiving days were frequent.¹ The penal legislation of New England was harsh and severe, and in Massachusetts and Connecticut there were fifteen crimes punishable with death, while the law took hold also of innumerable petty offences. In addition the magistrates had a discretionary authority, and they often punished persons on mere suspicion.

There can be no doubt that the ideal of the educated Puritan was lofty and high, and that society in New England was remarkably free from the ordinary frivolities and immoralities of mankind; but it would seem that human nature exacted a severe retaliation for the undue suppression of its weaknesses. There are in the works of Bradford and Winthrop, as well as in the records of the colonies, evidence which shows that the streams of wickedness in New England were "dammed" and not dried up. At intervals the impure waters broke over the obstacles in their way, till the record of crime caused the good Bradford "to fear and tremble at the consideration of our corrupt natures."²

¹ Howe, *Puritan Republic*, 102, 110, 111.

² Bradford, *Plimoth Plantation*, 459.

The conveniences of town life gave opportunities for literature not enjoyed by the Virginians, and, though his religion cut the Puritan almost entirely off from the finer fields of poetry and arts, New England in the period of which we have been considering was strong in history and theology. Thus the works of Bradford and Winthrop and of Hooker and Cotton compare favorably with the best productions of their contemporaries in England, and contrast with the later writers of Cotton Mather's "glacial period," when, under the influence of the theocracy, "a lawless and merciless fury for the odd, the disorderly, the grotesque, the violent, strained analogies, unexpected images, pedantics, indelicacies, freaks of allusion, and monstrosities of phrase" were the traits of New England literature.¹

¹ Tyler, *American Literature*, II., 87.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF VIRGINIA (1634-1652)

DURING the vicissitudes of government in Virginia the colony continued to increase in wealth and population, and in 1634 eight counties were created;¹ while an official census in April, 1635, showed nearly five thousand people, to which number sixteen hundred were added in 1636. The new-comers during Harvey's time were principally servants who came to work the tobacco - fields.² Among them were some convicts and shiftless people, but the larger number were persons of respectable standing, and some had comfortable estates and influential connections in England.³ Freed from their service in Virginia, not a few attained positions as justices of the peace and burgesses in the General Assembly.⁴

The trade of Virginia was become so extensive

¹ Hening, *Statutes*, I., 224.

² *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 201, 231, 268.

³ *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV., 173-176, V., 40.

⁴ *Virginia's Cure* (Force, *Tracts*, III., No. xv.).

that Dutch as well as English ships sought the colony. The principal settlements were on the north side of James River, and as the voyager in 1634 sailed from Chesapeake Bay he passed first the new fort at Point Comfort lately constructed by Captain Samuel Matthews. About five miles farther on was Newport News, chiefly remarkable for its spring, where all the ships stopped to take in water, at this time the residence of Captain Daniel Gookin, a prominent Puritan, who afterwards removed to Massachusetts. Five miles above Newport News, at Deep Creek, was Denbeigh, Captain Samuel Matthews's place, a miniature village rather than plantation, where many servants were employed, hemp and flax woven, hides tanned, leather made into shoes, cattle and swine raised for the ships outward bound, and a large dairy and numerous poultry kept.

A few hours' sail from Denbeigh was Littletown, the residence of George Menifie. He had a garden of two acres on the river-side, which was full of roses of Provence, apple, pear, and cherry trees, and the various fruits of Holland, with different kinds of sweet-smelling herbs, such as rosemary, sage, marjoram, and thyme. Growing around the house was an orchard of peach-trees, which astonished his visitors very much, for they were not to be seen anywhere else on the coast.¹

About six miles farther was Jamestown, a village

¹ De Vries, *Voyages* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 2d series, III., 34).

of three hundred inhabitants, built upon two streets at the upper end of the island. There the governor resided with some of his council, one of whom, Captain William Pierce, had a garden of three or four acres, from which his wife a few years before obtained a hundred bushels of figs.¹ The houses there as elsewhere were of wood, with brick chimneys, but architecture was improving.

In 1637 the General Assembly offered a lot to every person who should build a house at Jamestown Island; and in pursuance of the encouragement given, "twelve new houses and stores were built in the town," one of brick by Richard Kempe, "the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity." About the same time money was raised for a brick church and a brick state-house.² As to the general condition of the colony in 1634, Captain Thomas Young reported that there was not only a "very great plentie of milk, cheese, and butter, but of corn, which latter almost every planter in the colony hath."³

Such a "plentie of corn" must be contrasted with the scarcity in 1630, for the current of prosperity did not run altogether smoothly. The mortality still continued frightful, and "during the months of June, July, and August, the people died like cats and

¹ Smith, *Works* (Arber's ed.), 887.

² *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 288. In 1639 Alexander Stonar, brickmaker, patented land on Jamestown Island "next to the brick-kiln," Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, 46, 99.

³ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 4th series, IX., 108.

dogs,"¹ a statement especially true of the servants, of whom hardly one in five survived the first year's hardships in the malarial tobacco-fields along the creeks and rivers.² In 1630 tobacco tumbled from its high price of 3s. 6d. to 1d. per pound, and the colony was much "perplexed" for want of money to buy corn, which they had neglected to raise. To relieve the distress, Harvey, the next year, sent several ships to trade with the Indians up Chesapeake Bay and on the coast as far south as Cape Fear.³

Tobacco legislation for the next ten years consisted in regulations vainly intended to prevent further declines. Tobacco fluctuated in value from one penny to sixpence, and, as it was the general currency, this uncertainty caused much trouble. Some idea of the general dependency upon tobacco may be had from a statute in 1640, which, after providing for the destruction of all the bad tobacco and half the good, estimated the remainder actually placed upon the market by a population of eight thousand at one million five hundred thousand pounds.⁴

The decline in the price of tobacco had the effect of turning the attention of the planters to other industries, especially the supply of corn to the large

¹ De Vries, *Voyages* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 2d series, III., 37).

² *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII., 66, 114.

³ *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 117.

⁴ Hening, *Statutes*, I., 225.

emigration from England to Massachusetts. In 1631 a ship-load of corn from Virginia was sold at Salem, in Massachusetts, for ten shillings the bushel.¹ In 1634 at least ten thousand bushels were taken to Massachusetts, besides "good quantities of beeves, goats, and hogs";² and Harvey declared that Virginia had become "the granary of all his majesty's northern colonies,"³ Yet from an imported pestilence, the year 1636 was so replete with misery that Samuel Maverick, of Massachusetts, who visited the colony, reported that eighteen hundred persons died, and corn sold at twenty shillings per bushel.⁴

Sir Francis Wyatt arrived in the colony, November, 1639, and immediately called Harvey to account for his abuse of power. The decree against Panton was repealed, and his estate, which had been seized, was returned to him, while the property of Harvey was taken to satisfy his numerous creditors.⁵ The agitation for the renewal of the charter still continued, and Wyatt called a general assembly January, 1640, at which time it was determined to make another effort. George Sandys was appointed agent of the colony in England, and petitions reached England probably in the autumn of 1640. The breach between the king and Parliament was

¹ Winthrop, *New England*, I., 67.

² Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 4th series, IX., 110.

³ *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 184.

⁴ Winthrop, *New England*, I., 228.

⁵ *Va. Magazine*, V., 123-128.

then complete, and Charles had thrown himself entirely into the arms of the court party. Sandys, despairing of success from the king, appealed to Parliament in the name of the "Adventurers and Planters in Virginia," and "the Virginia patent was taken out again under the broad seal of England."¹ To what extent the new charter established the boundaries of Virginia does not appear, and the subsequent turn of affairs in Virginia made the action of Parliament at this time a nullity.

To offset these proceedings, the king commissioned² Sir William Berkeley, a vehement royalist, as successor to the popular Wyatt, and he arrived in Virginia in January, 1642, where he at once called an assembly to undo the work of Sandys. A petition to the king protesting against the restoration of the company was adopted, but although it was signed by the council and burgesses, as well as by Berkeley, the preamble alludes to strong differences of opinion.³ The change of position was doubtless brought about by the issue made in England between loyalty and rebellion; and, while desirous of a recharter, the majority of the people of Virginia did not care to desert the king. The petition was presented July 5, 1642, to Charles at his headquarters at York, who returned a gracious reply that "he

¹ *Virginia and Maryland, or the Lord Baltimore's Printed Case, uncased and answered* (Force, *Tracts*, II., No. ix.).

² *Va. Magazine*, II., 281-288.

³ *Hening, Statutes*, I., 230-235.

had not the least intention to consent to the introduction of any company."¹

While loyal to the king, the people of Virginia had never been wedded to the views of the high-church party in England. Among the ministers the surplice was not usual, and there was a Puritan severity about the laws in regard to the Sabbath and attendance at church. As the strife in England became more pronounced, the people in Nansemond and lower Norfolk counties, on the south of the James, showed decided leanings towards Parliament and to the congregational form of worship.

Soon they began to think of separating from the church of England altogether, and they sent for ministers to New England in 1642. In response, the elders there despatched three of their number, who, arriving in Virginia, set zealously to work to organize the congregations on the Nansemond and Elizabeth rivers. According to their own account, these ministers met with much success till they were suddenly stopped in the work by Berkeley, who persuaded the assembly, in March, 1643, to pass severe laws against Nonconformists; and under this authority drove them out of the land in 1644.²

In the same year occurred an Indian attack which these preachers and John Winthrop, the governor

¹ *Manuscript Collection of Annals relating to Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II., No. vi.).

² Latané, *Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XIII., Nos. iii. and iv.).

of Massachusetts, thought to be a special visitation of Providence. After the massacre in 1622 the war with the Indians had continued in a desultory way for over twelve years. Year after year squads of soldiers were sent in various directions against the different tribes, and by 1634 the Indians were so punished that the whites thought it safe to make peace. Now, after a repose of ten years, the fierce instincts of the savages for blood were once more excited.

April 18, 1644, was Good Friday, and Governor Berkeley ordered it to be kept as a special fast day to pray for King Charles; instead, it became a day of bloodshed and mourning.¹ The chief instigator of the massacre of 1622 was still alive, old Opechancanough, who, by the death of his brother Opitchapam, was now head chief of the Powhatan Confederacy. Thinking the civil war in England a favorable occasion to repeat the bloody deeds of twenty-two years before, on the day before Good Friday he attacked the settlers, and continued the assault for two days, killing over three hundred whites. The onslaught fell severest on the south side of James River and on the heads of the other rivers, but chiefly on the York River, where Opechancanough had his residence.²

The massacre of 1622 shook the colony to its foundation, and it is surprising to see how little

¹ Winthrop, *New England*, II., 198, 199.

² *Ibid.*; Beverley, *Virginia*, 48.

that of 1644 affected the current of life in Virginia. Berkeley seemed to think so little of the attack that after making William Claiborne general of an expedition against the Pamunkey tribe he left the colony in June, 1645.¹ He was gone a whole year, and on his return found that Claiborne had driven the Indians far away from the settlements. In 1646 he received information which enabled him to close the war with dramatic effect. At the head of a body of cavalry he surprised old Opechancanough in an encampment between the falls of the Appomattox and the James, and brought him, aged and blind, to Jamestown, where, about three weeks later, one of his guards shot him to death.² A peace was made not long after with Necotowance, his successor, by which the Indians agreed to retire entirely from the peninsula between the York and James rivers.³

One of the most remarkable results of the massacre was the change it produced in Rev. Thomas Harrison, Berkeley's chaplain at Jamestown, who had used his influence with the governor to expel the Nonconformist ministers of New England. He came to the belief of John Winthrop that the massacre was a Providential visitation and turned Puritan himself. After a quarrel with Berkeley he left Jamestown and took charge of the churches on

¹ *Va. Magazine*, VIII., 71-73.

² *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, *Tracts*, II., No. viii.); Beverley, *Virginia*, 49.

³ Hening, *Statutes*, I., 323-326.

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Hitherto the uncertainty resulting from the overthrow of the charter made it difficult to secure a good class of ministers. Those who came had been "such as wore black coats and could babble in a pulpet, and roare in a tavern, exact from their parishioners, and rather by their dissolutenesse destroy than feed their flocks." Now these "wolves in sheep's clothing" were by the assembly forced to depart the country and a better class of clergymen arrived.¹ In 1649 there were twenty churches and twenty ministers who taught the doctrines of the church of England and "lived all in peace and love";² and at the head of them was a man of exemplary piety, Rev. Philip Mallory, son of Dr. Thomas Mallory, Dean of Chester.³

The condition of things about 1648 is thus summed up by Hammond, a contemporary writer: "Then began the gospel to flourish; civil, honorable, and men of great estates flocked in; famous buildings went forward; orchards innumerable were planted and preserved; tradesmen set to work and, encouraged, staple commodities, as silk, flax, potashes attempted on. . . . So that this country, which had a mean beginning, many back friends, two ruinous and bloody massacres, hath by God's grace outgrown all, and is become a place of pleasure and plenty."

¹ Hammond, *Leah and Rachel* (Force, *Tracts*, III., No. xiv.).

² *Perfect Description* (*ibid.*, II., No. viii.).

³ Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 238; Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, 90.

Later, after the beheading of King Charles in 1649, there was a large influx of cavaliers, who, while they raised the quality of society, much increased the sympathy felt in Virginia for the royal cause. Under their influence Sir William Berkeley denounced the murder of King Charles I., and the General Assembly adopted an act making it treason to defend the late proceedings or to doubt the right of his son, Charles II., to succeed to the crown.¹ Parliament was not long in accepting the challenge which Berkeley tendered. In October, 1650, they adopted an ordinance prohibiting trade with the rebellious colonies of Virginia, Barbadoes, Antigua, and Bermuda Islands, and authorizing the Council of State to take measures to reduce them to terms.²

In October, 1651, was passed the first of the navigation acts, which limited the colonial trade to England, and banished from Virginia the Dutch vessels, which carried abroad most of the exports. About the same time, having taken measures against Barbadoes, the Council of State ordered a squadron to be prepared against Virginia. It was placed under the command of Captain Robert Dennis; and Thomas Stegge, Richard Bennett, and William Claiborne, members of Berkeley's council, were joined with him in a commission³ to "use their

¹ Hening, *Statutes*, I., 350-361.

² *Col. of State Pap.*, Vol. 1574-1580, p. 343.

³ *MS. Archives*, III., 205-207.

best endeavors to reduce all the plantations within the Bay of Chesopiack." Bennett and Claiborne were in Virginia at the time, and probably did not know of their appointment till the ships arrived in Virginia.

The fleet left England in October, 1651, carrying six hundred men, but on the way Captain Dennis and Captain Stegge were lost in a storm and the command devolved on Captain Edmund Curtis.¹ In December they reached the West Indies, where they assisted Sir George Ayscue in the reduction of Barbadoes. In January, 1652, they reached Virginia, where Curtis showed Claiborne and Bennett his duplicate instructions. Berkeley, full of fight, called out the militia, twelve hundred strong, and engaged the assistance of a few Dutch ships then trading in James River contrary to the recent navigation act.

The commissioners acted with prudence and good sense. They did not proceed at once to Jamestown, but first issued a proclamation intended to disabuse the people of any idea that they came to make war.² The result was that in March, 1652, when they appeared before the little capital, the council and burgesses overruled Berkeley, and entered into an agreement with Curtis, Claiborne, and Bennett, which proves the absence of hard feelings on both sides. The Virginians recognized the authority of

¹ *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 393.

² See report of the commissioners, *Va. Magazine*, XI., 32.

the commonwealth of England, and promised to pass no statute contrary to the laws of Parliament. On the other hand, the commissioners acknowledged the submission of Virginia, "as a voluntary act not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the countrey"; and conceded her right "to be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatever, not enforced by the General Assembly." In particular it was stipulated that "Virginia should have and enjoy the antient bounds and lymitts granted by the charters of the former kings."

The articles were signed March 12, 1652, and the commissioners soon after sailed to St. Mary's and received the surrender of Maryland. They returned in time to be present at a new meeting of the assembly held at Jamestown in April, at which it was unanimously voted that until the further pleasure of Parliament was known Richard Bennett should be governor and William Claiborne secretary of state. To the burgesses, as the representatives of the people, was handed over the supreme power of thereafter electing all officers of the colony.¹ Then Virginia, the last of the British dominions to abandon the king, entered upon eight years of almost complete self-government, under the protection of the commonwealth of England.

In 1652 the settlements in Virginia were embraced in thirteen counties, of which Northampton, on the Accomack Peninsula, extended to the southern

¹ Hening, *Statutes*, I., 363, 371.

boundary of Maryland. On the James River were nine counties: Henrico, Charles City, James City, Surry, Warwick, Warascoyack, or Isle of Wight, Elizabeth City, Nansemond, and Lower Norfolk. On York River were York County on the south side and Gloucester on the north side.¹ On the Rappahannock was Lancaster County, extending on both sides of the river from Pianketank to Dividing Creek in the Northern Neck; and on the Potomac was the county of Northumberland, first settled about 1638 at Chicacoan and Appomattox on the Potomac, by refugees from Maryland.²

Towards the south the plantations, following the watercourses, had spread to the heads of the creeks and rivers, tributaries of the James, and some persons more adventurous than the rest had even made explorations in North Carolina.³ Westward the extension was, of course, greatest along the line of the James, reaching as far as the Falls where Richmond now stands. The population was probably about twenty thousand, of whom as many as five thousand were white servants and five hundred were negroes.

The houses throughout the colony were generally of wood, a story and a half high, and were roofed with shingles. The chimneys were of brick, and the wealthier people lived in houses constructed wholly

¹ *Virginia Land Grants, MSS.*

² *Md. Archives*, IV., 268, 315.

³ *Bancroft, United States* (22d ed.), II., 134.

of home-made brick.¹ "They had, besides, good English furniture" and a "good store of plate." By ordinary labor at making tobacco any person could clear annually £20 sterling, the equivalent of \$500 to-day. The condition of the servants had greatly improved, and their labor was not so hard nor of such continuance as that of farmers and mechanics in England. Thefts were seldom committed, and an old writer asserts that "he was an eye-witness in England to more deceits and villanies in four months than he ever saw or heard mention of in Virginia in twenty years abode there."²

The plenty of everything made hospitality universal, and the health of the country was greatly promoted by the opening of the forests. Indeed, so contented were the people with their new homes that the same writer declares, "Seldom (if ever) any that hath continued in Virginia any time will or do desire to live in England, but post back with what expedition they can, although many are landed men in England, and have good estates there, and divers wayes of preferments propounded to them to entice and perswade their continuance."

In striking contrast to New England was the absence of towns, due mainly to two reasons—first, the wealth of watercourses, which enabled every planter of means to ship his products from his own

¹ Tyler, "Colonial Brick Houses," in *Century Magazine*, February, 1896.

² Hammond, *Leah and Rachel* (Force, *Tracts*, III., No. xiv.).

wharf; and, secondly, the culture of tobacco, which scattered the people in a continual search for new and richer lands. This rural life, while it hindered co-operation, promoted a spirit of independence among the whites of all classes which counteracted the aristocratic form of government. The colony was essentially a democracy, for though the chief offices in the counties and the colony at large were held by a few families, the people were protected by a popular House of Burgesses, which till 1736 was practically established on manhood suffrage. Negro slavery tended to increase this independence by making race and not wealth the great distinction; and the ultimate result was seen after 1792, when Virginia became the headquarters of the Democratic-Republican party—the party of popular ideas.¹

Under the conditions of Virginia society, no developed educational system was possible, but it is wrong to suppose that there was none. The parish institutions introduced from England included educational beginnings; every minister had a school, and it was the duty of the vestry to see that all poor children could read and write. The county courts supervised the vestries and held a yearly “orphans’ court,” which looked after the material and educational welfare of all orphans.²

¹ Tyler, “Virginians Voting in the Colonial Period,” in *William and Mary Quarterly*, VI., 9.

² “Education in Colonial Virginia,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, V., 219-223, VI., 1-7, 71-86, 171-186, VII., 1-9, 65, 77.

The benevolent design of a free school in the colony, frustrated by the massacre of 1622, was realized in 1635, when—three years before John Harvard bequeathed his estate to the college near Boston which bears his name—Benjamin Syms left “the first legacy by a resident of the American plantations of England for the promotion of education.”¹ In 1659 Thomas Eaton established² a free school in Elizabeth City County, adjoining that of Benjamin Syms; and a fund amounting to \$10,000, representing these two ancient charities, is still used to carry on the public high-school at Hampton, Virginia. In 1655 Captain John Moon left a legacy for a free school in Isle of Wight County; and in 1659 Captain William Whittington left two thousand pounds of tobacco for a free school in Northampton County.

¹ Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 112.

² “Eaton’s Deed,” in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XI., 19.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE COLONIES

(1652-1689)

THE number of the colonists in 1689 may be estimated at from two hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand, variously distributed: New Hampshire contained about five thousand inhabitants; Massachusetts, including Plymouth and Maine, fifty thousand; Rhode Island, four thousand; Connecticut, between seventeen and twenty thousand; New York, between eighteen and twenty thousand; East New Jersey, somewhat fewer than ten thousand; West New Jersey, four thousand; Pennsylvania and Delaware, twelve thousand; Maryland, thirty thousand; Virginia, between fifty and sixty thousand; North Carolina, between two and three thousand; and South Carolina not more than three thousand.

The territory thus occupied extended for about a thousand miles from Pemaquid to Charles Town, for the colonists passed but short distances back from the ocean, and then chiefly along the navigable rivers. Between adjoining colonies, even in 1689, boundaries were largely undefined, and, except where

rivers determined the line of division, were destined to be a source of perplexity and trouble, in some instances for a century to come. Territorial claims growing out of conflicting royal grants continued to offer to the colonists difficult and vexatious problems that could be solved only by compromise and agreement; and unfortunately in some cases the mutual good will essential to such a solution was wanting.

In the main the settlers were of English stock. New England was ethnically almost homogeneous, though a few French Huguenots, Scots-Irish, and Jews were found scattered among her people. In New York more than half the inhabitants were Dutch, the remainder English and French, the former largely predominating, and a sufficient number of Jews to warrant the building of a synagogue.¹ New Jersey was largely English, though there were many Scots, Dutch, and French living here and there in the towns and plantations. West New Jersey contained many Swedes and Dutch as well as English; and Pennsylvania was a composite of Finns, Swedes, Dutch, Germans, Scots, Welsh, and English. Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were settled by Englishmen only; South Carolina, on the other hand, a colony of one city, had already begun to show diversity of stocks, and though in large part settled by Englishmen, included French-

¹ Miller, *Description of New York*, 31, 37; Lodwick, "Account of New York," *Sloane MSS.*, in British Museum, 3339, f. 252.

men and Scots among its inhabitants. Not until the next century, however, did the immigration of Swiss, Scots-Irish, and German palatines into South Carolina begin in earnest.

This population was made up of free settlers, bond servants, and slaves, though bondage and slavery played a very small part in New England, where the economic conditions were unfavorable to such labor. Still, Randolph could report two hundred slaves there in 1676,¹ and we know that, notwithstanding the Quaker protest against the slave-trade in Rhode Island, Newport was the receiving and disbursing centre for most of the negroes who were brought from Guinea and Madagascar.² In New York slaves were used chiefly as body-servants and for domestic purposes, and Coxe mentions four in West New Jersey in 1687.

Even in the South the economic importance of slavery was as yet hardly recognized, and though there were many slaves in Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, they did not form the indispensable laboring class that they afterwards became. Berkeley, writing in 1671, said that there were forty thousand persons in Virginia, of whom two thousand were "black slaves" and six thousand "Christian servants"; and that in the preceding seven years but two or three ships of negroes had come to the

¹ *Hutchinson Papers*, II., 219.

² *Amer. Antiq. Soc., Proceedings*, October, 1887, p. 111.

SOCIAL LIFE

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colony.¹ Yet the numbers increased rapidly, and towards the end of the century a planter, stocking a new plantation, was able to draw his supply from the colony itself.²

During the seventeenth century in the south, white servants were preferred to the negroes as laborers, and Berkeley could say that fifteen hundred came every year to Virginia. Many were Irish and Scottish, but the great mass of the servants was English. They came to America under the indenture or redemption system, according to which servants bound themselves to work for a certain number of years, generally from four to six, on the lands or in the houses of the masters who advanced money to pay the shipmasters for their passage. This practice became one of the most efficient aids to colonization in the seventeenth century, and thousands of settlers came to America under this obligation to labor. The New-Englanders had few servants, except on hired wages,³ but they experimented with Indians, who proved very inefficient as laborers and servants, being not only inapt but unwilling.

Writers differ somewhat in their estimates of the servant's life in America. Dankers and Sluyter, the Labadist missionaries, strongly prejudiced

¹ Berkeley's Answers to Queries, in Public Record Office, *Colonial Papers*, XXVI., No. 77, i.

² Bruce, *Econ. Hist. of Virginia*, II., 87, 88.

³ *Hutchinson Papers*, II., 219.

against the practice, spoke in terms of severe condemnation of the "planter's avarice, which must be fed and sustained by the bloody sweat of their poor slaves."¹ But other accounts are more favorable. Alsop, himself an indentured servant, believed that the position was less grievous than that of the ordinary apprentice in England.² Hammond says that servants were not put to "so hard or continuous labor as husbandmen and handicraftsmen were obliged to perform in England. . . . Little or nothing is done," he adds, "in winter time, none ever work before sunrising or after sunset. In the summer they rest, sleep, or exercise themselves five hours in the heat of the day; Saturday afternoon is always their own, the old holidays are observed, and the Sabbath spent in good exercise."³ G. L., writing from West New Jersey, confirms this account when he says that "servants work here, not so much by a third as they do in England, and I think feed much better, for they have beef, pork, bacon, pudding, milk, butter, fish, and fruit more plentiful than in England, and good beer and syder."⁴

However hard the servant's life may have been, there was always the expectation of serving their time and becoming hired laborers at two shillings or two shillings and sixpence a day. Some of the

¹ Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 191, 192.

² Alsop, *Character of the Province of Maryland*. chap. iii.

³ Hammond, *Leah and Rachel*, 12.

⁴ "Quaker's Account of New Jersey," *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., D 810, f. 55.

best of the later colonists, particularly in the south, traced their descent to industrious indentured servants who "crept" out of their condition, got good estates of cattle, houses, and servants of their own, and became husbandmen and freeholders.¹

During the period from 1650 to 1690 the colonists gained steadily in the conveniences and comforts of living. Food and shelter were easily obtainable, and in the large towns even luxury prevailed to a small extent. There was sometimes serious suffering from the miseries of Indian attacks, the frequency of serious sickness, and in the north the inclemency of the winter. In South Carolina many of the newcomers complained of the miseries of chills and fever—"seasoning" they called it; and in Maryland and Virginia there was a good deal of poverty owing to the fluctuations of the tobacco crop. Moryson, speaking for Virginia in 1676, said that the "better sort" lived on poultry, hogs, and what deer and fowl their servants could kill for them. They drank, though "this not common," beer and ale.²

Thomas Newe, in 1682, found the people of Charles Town drinking molasses and water, and learned that no malt up to that time had been made in the colony.³ In the Jerseys beer was a common

¹ "Quaker's Account of New Jersey," *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., D 810, f. 55; Hammond, *Leah and Rachel*, 14; Wilson, *Account of Carolina* (Carroll, *Hist. Collections*, II., 24).

² Moryson's "Answers," *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., A 185, f. 256.

³ Newe to his father, May 17, 1682, *ibid.*, D 810, f. 53.

drink, and we hear occasionally of brew-houses, and meet with requests sent to England for brewers. Cider was used chiefly in the middle and northern colonies, and occasionally brandy and wines were obtainable, when vessels from the West Indies and Canaries came to the colonies.

The "ordinary sort" of people in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware lived on Indian corn, "a grain of general use to man and beast." "They beat it in a mortar," says a traveller, "and get the husks from it, and then boyle it with a piece of beef or salted pork with some kidney-beans, which is much like to pork and pease at sea, but they call it hommony." The people ate also bread made of the same corn, ground by hand, for grist-mills, common in New England, were scarce in the southern colonies; and raised a few vegetables, often of the coarsest kind.¹ Cook describes the planter's home in Maryland in words that may well be based on experience:

"So after hearty Entertainment, .
Of Drink and victuals without Payment;
For Planters' Tables, you must know,
Are free for all that come and go.
While Pon and Milk, with Mush well stoar'd,
In wooden Dishes grac'd the Board;
With Homine and Syder-pap,
(Which scarce a hungry Dog wou'd lap)
Well stuff'd with Fat, from Bacon fry'd,
Or with *Molassus* dulcify'd."²

¹ Moryson's "Answers," *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., A 185, f. 256; Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 217, 218; *Sloane MSS.*, in British Museum, 2291, f. 1.

² Cook, *Sot-Weed Factor* (Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications* No. 36), 4.

In South Carolina the conditions were better, and Wilson assures us that while those living near the marshes were subject to ague, settlers on the higher ground did very well. He says that the soil was fertile and produced good corn, excellent pasture, wheat, rye, barley, oats, pease, and garden vegetables in large variety; that cattle, sheep, horses, and other animals were easily raised, while negroes thrived better than in the north and required fewer clothes, which, as he naïvely remarks, "is a great charge saved."¹ Thomas Newe's letters to his father give a favorable view of the colony, and are especially valuable as the unbiased impressions of a new-comer. "The soil," he writes, "is generally very light, but apt to produce whatever is put into it. There are already all sorts of English fruit and garden herbs, besides many others I never saw in England." He thinks that the colony is in very good condition, considering the fact that most of the first settlers were "tradesmen, poor and wholly ignorant of husbandry, and till of late but few in number, so that their whole business was to clear a little ground to get bread for their families, few of them having wherewithal to purchase a cow."

As for prices, Newe thought things dear in Charles Town: milk, 2*d.* a quart; beef, 4*d.* a pound; pork, 3*d.* a pound, "but far better than our English"; and he attributes these prices to the fact that

¹ Wilson, in Carroll, *Hist. Collections*, II., 26, 27.

“cattle sold so well to new-comers that the planters saved none for killing,” being furnished by the Indians with fowl, fish, and venison “for a trifle.”¹ G. L. shows that prices were a little lower in West New Jersey, and quotes pork at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound, beef and venison $1d.$ a pound, a fat buck 5s. or 6s., Indian corn at 2s. 6d. a bushel, oats 2s., and barley 2s.² By witness of all, money was very scarce, payment being made in natural products, or occasionally in Spanish coin, receivable in England at four or five shillings less in the pound than in the colonies.

In Pennsylvania, New York, and New England the standard of living was higher than in Maryland and Virginia, for the attention of the colonists was not absorbed in the cultivation of tobacco to the neglect of other staple products of the soil. Many fruits and vegetables were raised, and others were found growing in the woods; cows, sheep, goats, hogs, as well as geese and chickens, were easily cared for; and in the large cities of the north, and of the south as well, colonial products, such as cloves, pepper, and other spices, could be found, brought from England or the West Indies. In many of the colonies, notably South Carolina, Maryland, and the Jerseys, oysters were obtainable in large quantities from the river mouths and inlets, and every-

¹ Newe to his father, *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., D 810, ff. 53, 54.

² “Quaker’s Account of New Jersey,” *ibid.*, f. 55.

where fish was plentiful, and venison was easily procured.

Houses were at first of logs; later frame buildings, clapboarded and shingled, were erected. In West New Jersey, says G. L., "the poorer sort set up a house of two or three rooms themselves in this manner. Their walls are cloven timber about three inches broad, like planks, set upon end in the ground, the other [end] nailed to the raising, which they plaster warm, and they build a barn after the same manner."¹ Dankers and Sluyter mention similar houses in East New Jersey, "rude in structure but comfortable, constructed of trees split and stood on end and shingled."² The great majority of houses everywhere were built of wood, often larger than those just mentioned, having two or three rooms to a floor, and in New England a second floor, an attic, and generally a lean-to. A few of the southern plantations boasted elaborate wooden houses.

In the cities some brick buildings existed. In 1660 Boston was a great town, with two churches, a state-house, market-place, and good shops;³ in 1679 it was described as "a large city on a fine bay, with three churches, the houses covered with thin cedar shingles nailed against frames and then filled

¹ "Quaker's Account of New Jersey." *Reminson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., D 310. f. 55.

² Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 173, 175.

³ *Clark, Description of New England* (*N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXIX., 43).

with bricks and other stuff.”¹ Maverick describes Plymouth and New Haven as poor towns, the latter not as glorious as it once was; Hartford as a gallant town with many rich men in it.² Albany had about two hundred houses, mostly of stone and brick, and a fort fifteen feet high, made of logs. New York had eight hundred houses built of the same materials, and a fort, with four bastions and thirty-nine guns, well maintained and garrisoned with a large body of soldiers. It faced the harbor, in which Governor Dongan thought a thousand ships might ride safe from wind and weather. Its chaplain, Wolley, was not very favorably impressed with the appearance of the city, but Denton thought it exceedingly pleasing with its houses covered with red tiles.³

Across the river were the towns of East New Jersey, small and unpretentious, though Elizabeth had a court-house, a prison, and six hundred inhabitants, and was the largest and most important in the region. Perth Amboy was well situated at the head of a spacious harbor, into which, says G. L., a ship of three hundred tons burden could “safely come and ride close to the shore within a plank’s length just before the houses of the town. . . . The land there,” continues the same writer,

¹ Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 394, 395.

² Maverick, *Description*, 45, 47.

³ Wolley, *Two Years’ Journal*, 55; Denton, *Brief Description of New York*, 2; Dongan’s Answers to Queries (1687), *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1685-1688, § 327.

"is not low, swampy, marsh ground, but pretty high ground, rising thirty, in some places forty, foot high, and yet hath many conveniences for landing goods."¹ The whole region from the Hudson to the Delaware, according to the testimony of many witnesses, was healthful and fertile, and many of the correspondents of this period think a man better off in New Jersey and Pennsylvania than in England.²

From East New Jersey to West New Jersey and Philadelphia one stepped into a different social atmosphere. There were large places like Burlington, Salem, and Gloucester, centres of commerce and trade, and readily accessible "in boats from a small canoe to vessels of thirty, forty, fifty, and in some places of a hundred tons."³ Gabriel Thomas describes Burlington as a famous town, with many stately brick houses, a great market-house, with markets and fairs to which the people from the country round were wont to gather; while outside the town were country-houses for the gentry, gardens and orchards, bridges and ferries over the rivers.⁴ Wherry boats plied across the Delaware to Philadelphia, already a large and commodious town, with wharves and timber-yards, ship-yards

¹ "Quaker's Account of New Jersey," *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., D 810, f. 55.

² Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietors*, App., passim.

³ "Quaker's Account of New Jersey," *Rawlinson MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., D 810, f. 55.

⁴ Thomas, *Description of West New Jersey*, 15, 19.

and rope-walks. Near by were four market towns—Chester, Germantown, New Castle, and Lewiston—among which watermen plied their wherries. Farther back in the country were villages—Haverford, Merioneth, and Radnor—whose names betray their Welsh origin.

Passing from the Delaware to the Chesapeake, a traveller entered still another environment, and, as he pushed down the eastern shore, journeyed generally on foot or by boats from plantation to plantation, crossing many creeks and rivers, and lengthening his course by circuitous routes around marshy places and impassable morasses. On the high ground lived the planters, rich and poor, with their servants and slaves. Nowhere in Maryland were there compact settlements such as we find in New England, nor yet were the conditions exactly the same as those in Virginia. The Puritan settlement, Providence, was a town, and the names of Oxford Town, Calvert Town, Charles Town, and Battle Town bear witness to the efforts of the proprietary to erect centres of population in his province. His best endeavors were never very successful; even St. Mary's City, the seat of government, was without social or economic unity, for its inhabitants lived for thirty miles along the bay. Virginia, on the other hand, had not a semblance of a town. As contemporary writers put it, "there were neither towns, markets, nor money,"¹ only

¹ Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, *Present State of Virginia*.

scattered plantations along the rivers, each with its wharf and landing-place, an independent, self-sufficing community. In North Carolina, if we may judge from the account given by George Fox in his journal, the inhabitants lived as widely separated from one another as in Virginia, communicating with difficulty and at rare intervals. South Carolina had one city, Charles Town, situated on low ground at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. Founded as a village of a few houses in 1680, it had risen by 1682 to be a town of one hundred structures, all built of wood, though there appears to have been good material for brick in the neighborhood. The city faced an excellent harbor, was capable of strong defence, and was readily approached by small vessels and (with the aid of a pilot) by ships of many tons burden. In the immediate neighborhood were a few plantation settlements, but up to 1689 no attempts were made to push back the frontier and explore the interior.

Among the colonies, as a whole, communication was infrequent. Coasting vessels ran from New England to New York, the Delaware, Virginia, and Carolina, and larger ships occasionally put in from England or the West Indies. Transportation was almost entirely by water; horses were used at times for cross-country travel, but they were expensive, and the colonists bred them rather for export than for use. Land travel was generally on foot, and

consequently the mass of the people journeyed very little.

Habits and modes of life throughout all the colonies were of the very simplest sort. Very few houses were elaborately furnished, and, except in the commercial centres, few fabrics or furniture of English or foreign manufacture were seen. It is extraordinarily rare to find a settler, like Giles Brent of Maryland, boasting of three estates, well stocked, large quantities of gold and silver plate, many precious stones, including "one great diamond" worth £200, tapestry wrought with gold and silk, linen, pewter, and brass sufficient to furnish two large houses, and "a fair library of books" worth £140.¹ One can but wonder if Brent had friends among the buccaneers.

Daily intercourse was devoid of ceremonial, and, in New England especially, social standards, though often rigid and even aristocratic, were free from the strict class distinctions of English society. In New York, among the officials of the city and the soldiers of the garrison, and in the southern colonies among councillors, governors, and proprietaries, English practices and ceremonies prevailed.

An example of stateliness was the funeral of William Lovelace. The room in which the deceased lay was heavily draped with mourning and adorned with the escutcheons of the family. At

¹ Copley *c.* Ingle, *Admiralty Court, Libels*, Public Record Office, 107, No. 265.

the head of the body was a pall of death's-heads, and above and about the hearse was a canopy richly embroidered, from the centre of which hung a garland and an hour-glass. At the foot was a gilded coat of arms, four feet square, and near by were candles and fumes which were kept continually burning. At one side was placed a cupboard containing plate to the value of £200. The funeral procession was led by the captain of the company to which the deceased had belonged, followed by the "preaching minister," two others of the clergy, and a squire bearing the shield. Before the body, which was borne by six "gentlemen bachelors," walked two maidens in white silk, wearing gloves and "cyprus scarves," and behind were six others similarly attired, bearing the pall. After the maidens came the uncle of the deceased, Governor Francis Lovelace, and his councillors, and four halberts wearing coats richly embroidered with crests. Then, preceded by the mace, came the mayor of the city, the aldermen, and a long line of ship-captains, burghers, and others, Dutch and English, walking two and two. The procession wended its way to the fort, where amid salvos of musketry the body was lowered into the grave. Until ten o'clock at night wines, sweetmeats, and biscuits were served to the mourners.¹

¹ "Funeral Solemnities at the Interment of Mr. William Lovelace at New York, 1671" (*Ashmolean MSS.*, in *Bod. Lib.*, 846, f. 54).

Such elaborate and expensive ceremonies were elsewhere unknown to the colonists; usually the commemorations of births, marriages, and deaths were exceedingly unpretentious. Money was scarce, and while a few governors, like Berkeley in Virginia, kept a coach and pair, and could have diamond-shaped panes in the windows of their houses, even the royal appointees at this time made but little attempt at ostentatious display. Exhibitions of wealth and of family arms and crests were hardly in keeping with the temper of the colonists; and though there were families of rank in New England as well as in Virginia, there was little opportunity, and less desire, to exercise the prerogatives of rank.

Outside New England, religious and intellectual life was as yet undeveloped. The Church of England was to all intents and purposes the established church of South Carolina, as it was of Virginia, and there are few traces of other denominations, though Nonconformists had aided in settling the colony. Virginia in 1671 had forty-eight parishes, and presumably as many ministers, though that does not necessarily follow. Berkeley spoke of the ministers as well paid, but wished that they would pray oftener and preach less, and said that no ministers of ability had come to Virginia since "the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drew divers worthy men hither."¹

¹ Berkeley's Answers to Queries (MSS. in Public Record Office, *Colonial Papers*, XXVI., No. 77, i.).

Maryland has been considered the strongest Anglican colony; but the strength of the church in Maryland has been exaggerated. Three-quarters of the colonists were Dissenters, and of the remainder a considerable number were Roman Catholics. In 1676, John Yeo reported only three ministers of the Church of England in Maryland, though he spoke of others who pretended to be such "that never had a legal ordination." In 1677, even Baltimore could mention only four ministers with plantations of their own.¹ Contemporary evidence shows clearly that in many ways the condition of the church in Maryland was deplorable. Yeo, writing from Pawtuxent to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1676, bewails the state of the province, calling it a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest-house of iniquity. Dankers and Sluyter speak of the religious life there as stagnant, the people as godless and profane, listening neither to God nor to His commandments, and having neither church nor cloister.² This statement may be deemed a prejudiced one, as the narrators were Labadists, seeking a home for their sect in America; nevertheless it is borne out by the petition of Mary and Michael Tany of Calvert Town, who about 1685 prayed king, archbishop, and all the bishops of England to send over a minister to a suffering community, where the people were too poor, on account of the navigation

¹ *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1675-1676, § 1005, 1677-1680, § 348.

² Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 218.

acts, to maintain church or clergy. They recalled the fact that as a result of a former petition Charles II. had sent over "a minister and a parcel of Bibles and other church-books of considerable value," but that now they were without church or settled ministry of any kind.¹ Cook, in his *Sot-Weed Factor*, agrees with these views.²

The Labadists were hardly more complimentary to New York, where an Anglican church had been established at the conquest in 1664. Though the duke of York appointed a chaplain to the garrison at New York as early as 1674, no clergyman appeared until Wolley came over in 1680, as chaplain of the fort. Miller in his description is very scornful of the religious life of New York, deeming all Dissenters only "pretended ministers" and charging them with leading ungodly lives.³ In New Jersey the first Anglican church was at Elizabeth, where the services were conducted by a lay reader; and in Philadelphia the first Episcopal church was not built until 1695.

Though by express command of the king Episcopacy was tolerated in Massachusetts after 1660, the authorities there were wholly averse to the discipline of the Church of England, and resisted every attempt to organize a congregation. Mason, of New

¹ Petitions of Mary and Michael Tany, *Tanner MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., 31, f. 137-139.

² Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications* No. 36, p. 5.

³ Miller, *Description of New York*, chap. iii.

Hampshire fame, brought over Books of Common Prayer sent by the bishop of London before 1682,¹ but an Episcopal church was not established in Boston until 1686. The colonists were fearful lest the Stuarts should force Episcopacy upon New England; but the fear was unfounded, and Episcopacy made no progress in the Puritan colonies during the seventeenth century. Even Maine, which had begun as an Anglican settlement, was Congregationalized before 1692.

At first all the Anglican churches in the colonies were under the charge of the archbishop of Canterbury; and a very important part of Clarendon's policy after 1660 was his plan of making a bishopric of Virginia, and consolidating all the colonial churches under the authority, inspection, and jurisdiction of Archbishop Sheldon and his successors. About 1666 a patent was drawn up constituting Virginia a bishopric and a diocese, and declaring all the churches in the Bahamas, Bermudas, Jamaica, and the other island and continental colonies—except New England—to be parts and members of the diocese of Virginia.² Though this patent does not appear to have been acted on, the appointment of Alexander Murray, former companion of King Charles in his wanderings, and at this time in-

¹ Letter from Boston (unsigned), December 11, 1682, *Tanner MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., 35, f. 140.

² Patent for the erection of Virginia into a bishopric, *ibid.*, 447, ff. 69-76.

cumbent of Ware parish in Virginia, to be bishop of that colony was seriously considered in 1673.¹

Jurisdiction over the colonial churches was soon after vested in the bishop of London, who, as a member of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, took frequent occasion to impress upon the committee the needs of the church in America. But for many years to come the Episcopal jurisdiction amounted to little, and did not include the licensing of marriages, probation of wills, or induction of ministers. In Virginia, a commissary, representing the bishop, was sent over in 1689, but inasmuch as his authority was too limited to be of importance, he became little more than a special correspondent who sent letters to the bishop regarding the religious condition of the colony.

In the north, Congregationalism, not Episcopacy, was established. Every town in New England had its Congregational church supported by taxation, and the larger communities and townships had two or more ecclesiastical societies. Connecticut had chiefly "large" Congregationalists, who accepted the Half-way Covenant, and a few "strict" Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Quakers.² Rhode Island had no state church, recognizing to the utmost the right of "soul liberty" and inviting all denominations to share its territory. Quakers and Baptists, however, predominated over other denominations.

¹ *Harleian MSS.*, in British Museum, 3790, ff. 1-4.

² *Conn. Col. Records*, III., 297; Allen, *History of Enfield*.

From New York to Pennsylvania a mixture of religious faiths appears. In the former, besides the Anglicans, were the Dutch Lutherans and Calvinists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Jews.¹ In Albany all the colonists were Dutch Calvinists, in Long Island the majority were Congregationalists. There were many French Huguenots on Staten Island, but they had no church.² In New Jersey there were mainly Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Quakers. In West New Jersey there were several Quaker meetings and some Presbyterians and Baptists. In Philadelphia the Quakers, who were divided into two bodies by the apostasy of George Keith, controlled the government; but the city contained also congregations of Swedish Lutherans, English Baptists, and Presbyterians.

In the southern colonies were many nonconformists—Presbyterians, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Labadists (about a hundred, in Maryland), and Quakers. In North Carolina the Anglicans had done nothing to establish Episcopacy, and the colony was in control of the Quakers. Thus, in the main, the Church of England was the established church of the south, and Congregationalism was the established religious system of the north; while in the middle colonies there existed a mixture of religious

¹ Miller, *Description of New York*, 37; *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, III., 262.

² Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 142; Lodwick's *Description*.

bodies, no one of which could claim superiority to the others in numbers or influence.

The educational and intellectual life of the colonies was low. Public schools were common in New England, where the people, coming from the towns of old England, had high ideals of the value of education. Massachusetts and Connecticut provided schools for nearly every township. Plymouth and Rhode Island were more backward, and education made little progress in those colonies until the next century.

In New York there seem to have been no schools at all—at least, no contemporary speaks of them, and Andros in his reply to the queries of the Lords of Trade says nothing of education. New Jersey had no schools until 1693,¹ and Budd in his account of New Jersey and Pennsylvania urges the establishment of schools, and proposes that white men and Indians alike shall be educated, not only in liberal arts, but in manual training also.² Ten years later Gabriel Thomas reported several good schools of learning in Pennsylvania, and we know that William Bradford introduced a printing-press there in 1685.

Apparently Maryland had no schools of any kind. Berkeley's famous reply to the queries of 1671 indicates the condition of Virginia at that date. "But I thank God," he says, "there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have

¹ Whitehead, *East Jersey*, 159-174.

² Budd, *Account of New Jersey and Pennsylvania*, 43, 44.

these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged [them] and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."¹ A few years later provision was made for schools and school-masters and for a system of licensing whereby the standard of teaching might be raised. The greater part of the colony, however, retained the old customs, in accordance with which every man instructed his children according to his ability.

The only institution for higher education in 1689 was Harvard College, founded in 1636 and incorporated in 1650. It was quartered in "a fair and comely edifice, having in it a spacious hall, and a large library with some books in it."² "Every scholar that on prooffe is found able to read the Originals of the Old and New Testament into the Latin tongue, and to resolve them Logically, withall being of godly life and conversation; and at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first degree."³ Higher qualifications of a similar character admitted the student to the second degree. Mather, writing in 1691, said that the degree of master of arts was won after "seven

¹ Berkeley's Answers to Queries, MSS. in Public Record Office, *Colonial Papers*, XXVI., No. 77, i. (query 23). But cf. Tyler, *England in America*, chap. vi.

² Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, 385.

³ *New England's First Fruits* (1643), 16.

years standing, as 'tis in Oxford and Cambridge. . . . We never," he adds, " (more's pity) had any Drs." ¹

Those who watched the college at its birth, who draughted the "Rules and Precepts that are observed in the Colledge," and who drew up the "Times and Order of their Studies," with "Chaldee at the 9th houre" and "Syriack at the 10th houre," might have been scandalized had they read the account of Dankers and Sluyter, written after visiting the college in 1679. These men declared that they saw only ten students sitting around, smoking tobacco in a room which smelt like a tavern; that they tested these students in speaking Latin, with sad results; and that the library contained nothing in particular. The authorities of Harvard might have been equally scandalized had they known of the later career of Sir George Downing, who as *Georgius Downingus*, in 1642, fulfilled in part the requirements of the first degree by defending successfully such ethical theses as these: *Iustitia mater omnium virtutum, Mentiri non potest qui verum dicit; Juveni modestia summum ornamentum.*

Except for theological writings in New England, and a few journals and descriptions of country and travel, the colonies developed little literature before 1689. There were very few physicians and scarcely any lawyers, a strong prejudice against the latter existing everywhere. Letchford, in Massachustts,

¹ Increase Mather to Anthony á Wood (*Tanner MSS.*, in Bod. Lib., 26, f. 48).

had not been allowed to practise his profession and took his revenge by writing in his *Plaine Dealing* a scathing criticism of the colony's method of doing justice. Lawyers seem to have been allowed in East New Jersey;¹ but the Quakers in Pennsylvania were bitterly opposed to law-suits in every form. Gabriel Thomas rejoiced that Pennsylvania did not need either the tongue of the lawyer or the pen of the physician, both, he says, being "equally destructive of men's estates and lives."² Alsop, in Maryland, said that if the lawyer there had "nothing else to maintain him but his bawling, he might button up his chops and burn his buckram bag"; and Cook shows his opinion of lawyers when he speaks of them as breaking the peace and wrangling for plaintiff and defendant. The hostility for this class of professional men became in Virginia so marked as to lead to legislation against the practice of law.³ A few years later Colonel Byrd said that while there were a few men in the colony who called themselves doctors they were "generally discarded." As for North Carolina, a resident of Albemarle County wrote to his father in England that "those who profess themselves doctors and attorneys are scandalous to their profession, impudence and notorious impertinence making up their character."

¹ Whitehead, *East Jersey*, 166.

² Thomas, *Account of the Province of Pensilvania*, 32.

³ Alsop, *Character of the Province of Maryland*, 47; Cook, *Sot-Weed Factor*, 12, 19; Hening, *Statutes*, I., 495, II., 71; *Stowe MSS.*, in British Museum, 748, f. 12; *Sloane*, 4040, f. 151.

CHAPTER IV

PROVINCIAL CULTURE

(1690-1740)

DURING the seventeenth century the pressure of material needs and the scattered character of the settlements prevented much development in the finer elements of civilization; and though New England showed a strongly idealistic spirit, her culture was narrowed by theological partisanship.

At the close of the century these unfavorable conditions were gradually changing and there began a period of substantial progress in civilization. The older communities were emerging from the hardships of the pioneer period; they were coming to have leisure and taste for intellectual pursuits, and becoming ambitious of larger opportunities for their children. The improved communications between different colonies were giving to their higher life some real community of interest, by weakening local and sectarian prejudices. The development of mercantile interests also helped to bring the backward or one-sided life of the colonies into vital contact with the main currents of European progress. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and

Charleston there were many men who had regular business connections with the Old World and from time to time found it necessary to cross the ocean.

Much credit must also be given to the royal governors. Francis Nicholson, for instance, while governor in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, gave special attention to education, urging it upon the attention of his colonial assembly, and himself making contributions to the cause. When Yale College was founded, this zealous Anglican showed a surprising breadth of interest by contributing to its stock of books. So, too, his successor in Virginia, Governor Spotswood, was one of the chief patrons of William and Mary College.¹

In New York and Massachusetts, Governor Burnet left an enviable reputation as a man of scholarly and literary tastes. In New York he had among his political advisers a rather unusual group of intellectual men, and during his residence in Massachusetts he was understood to be a contributor of essays to the *New England Weekly Journal*. Governor Dudley, whatever his faults may have been, was a "gentleman and a scholar" who kept himself in sympathy with the literary and scientific activities of his time.²

The Anglican church also exerted an important civilizing influence. The first two commissaries of

¹ Mereness, *Maryland*, 137; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 482; Trumbull, *Connecticut*, II., 30.

² Winsor, *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, II., 400, 435.

the bishop of London, Blair in Virginia and Bray in Maryland, are almost as well known for their educational as for their religious activities. The Venerable Society emphasized the educational side of its missionary work, and in many southern parishes the Anglican lay reader was the first teacher. In New England also the Anglican clergy were an important intellectual force, helping their Puritan neighbors by the stimulus of competition and preparing the way for a more tolerant practice.¹

Perhaps the finest gift of the English church to the life of New England was the mission of George Berkeley, who lived from 1729 to 1731 in the vicinity of Newport. Dean Berkeley was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary who had hitherto visited the colonies, and was known 'already as a brilliant scholar. As the founders of Massachusetts had hoped to build up a "bulwark against Anti-Christ," so Berkeley saw in the fresh and youthful life of the New World a refuge for Christian and Protestant civilization. He desired to establish an American college under Anglican auspices, but the project was not supported by the English government, and he returned to England much disappointed.

Yet the time which Berkeley spent in Newport was not wasted. In a kindly way he used his influence against the sectarian spirit of New England

¹ Weeks, in U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report*, 1897, II., 1380-1383.

Puritanism, and his sympathies were not confined within his own communion. After his return to England he gave generously to Yale College, both in books and in land, and he also contributed some books to the library of Harvard College. Through the stimulus of his intercourse and example he strengthened the intellectual life of the little colony where he lived, and his influence can be traced also in the founding of King's College in New York, 1754, under the leadership of his friend and disciple, Samuel Johnson.¹

During this period there was substantial progress in the founding and development of educational institutions, and in the south the most important event was the founding of William and Mary College. Some subscriptions for such a college had been taken in Berkeley's administration; but little was accomplished until 1691, when the assembly sent commissary Blair to England with instructions to secure a charter. Blair appealed successfully to the queen and the king, and in 1693 came back with a royal charter, together with a substantial endowment from the royal revenues. From time to time this endowment was increased by grants from the assembly and by private gifts.²

¹ Tyler, in Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I., 519-540; Weeden, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of New England*, II., 546-548; Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, II., chaps. iv., v.

² *Cal. of State Pap., Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 300, 426, 452, 575, 693; Adams, *College of William and Mary*, 11-17; *Letters of Blair*, in Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I., 116-119.

William and Mary College was thus founded under distinctly Anglican auspices and its close connection with the church continued throughout the colonial era. Commissary Blair himself was its first president, holding the office for fifty years; its professors were generally clergymen in charge of neighboring parishes, and emphasis was constantly laid upon training for the service of the Anglican church. About the college there was subsequently built the capital town of Williamsburg, which, with its double attraction of the college and the seat of government, became a social centre of some importance. The college itself passed through many vicissitudes; it was burned down in 1705, and, though soon restored, it was described about 1724 by one of its professors, the Reverend Hugh Jones, as "a college without a chapel, without a scholarship, and without a statute" having "a library without books comparatively speaking; and a president without a fixed salary till of late." In 1729 the faculty consisted of President Blair and six professors, including two in theology and two in the school of philosophy. Though its influence in the colonial era was hardly comparable with that of Harvard, in Massachusetts, it trained a large proportion of the men who were to play conspicuous parts in the struggle for independence.¹

¹ Adams, *College of William and Mary*, 17-27; Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (ed. of 1865), 45, 83 et seq.; *William and Mary Quarterly*, VI., 176, 177.

William and Mary was the only college in the south during the colonial era, and the demand for higher education had to be met by sending young men out of the colony either to England, or, occasionally, to one of the northern colleges. In the richer families an education over-seas was, therefore, more common than in New England.

In secondary and elementary education the south made some progress during the first half of the eighteenth century. A "grammar" school at Williamsburg gave preliminary training in Greek and Latin. In 1695 the Maryland assembly passed an act for one or more free schools in which Latin and Greek might be taught, but only one was established under its provisions, the King William's School at Annapolis. In 1763, Governor Sharpe declared that there was not in Maryland even one good grammar-school.¹

South Carolina during the earlier years of the eighteenth century passed a number of laws for the encouragement of education. In 1711 the colony, with the co-operation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, established a school in Charleston; and a few were established elsewhere through bequests by individuals or through the efforts of societies.²

North Carolina was probably the most backward

¹ Mereness, *Maryland*, 137-145.

² McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, 510, 700; *South Carolina under Royal Government*, chap. xxv.

of all the colonies, but even here a few schools were established during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, chiefly through the efforts of the Anglican church. The net results, however, were small, and in 1736 Governor Johnston reproached the assembly with having "never yet taken the least care to erect one school, which deserves the name in this extended country."¹

None of the southern colonies had a genuine public-school system, but the deficiency in organized education was partly made up by private instruction, which, in South Carolina especially, employed a considerable number of persons during the latter part of the provincial era. In that colony also something was done for the poor by the rich through the institution of schools with free scholarships.²

Eight years after the incorporation of William and Mary College another institution for higher education was incorporated in Connecticut. Yale College, like its predecessors in Massachusetts and Virginia, was founded under strongly clerical influences, and was intended to be largely, though not exclusively, a training school for ministers. Most of its promoters were Harvard graduates; but in Connecticut there was a demand for a college nearer home, while in Massachusetts many men felt that Harvard was drifting away from the orthodox standards. The

¹ Weeks, in U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report*, 1897, II., 1380-1383; *N. C. Col. Records*, IV., 227.

² McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, chap. xxv.

act of 1701 incorporating the new college provided for a board of trustees composed exclusively of ministers.¹

For the next seventeen years the college led an extremely precarious existence. A part of the instruction was given at Saybrook, but some of the students were provided for at various other places. Local jealousies made it difficult to fix a permanent seat for the college; but in 1716 the trustees agreed upon New Haven, and their decision was sanctioned by the general court. There was still some resistance, and in 1718 rival commencements were held at Weathersfield and New Haven; but by concessions to the disappointed towns the breach was soon healed. Meanwhile, donations were coming in from various quarters. Jeremiah Dummer collected a number of books for the college from friends in England; but the most important benefactor was Elihu Yale, a native of Boston, who, after receiving his education in England, became a prosperous East Indian merchant, and governor for the East India Company at Madras. In 1718, at the first New Haven commencement, the school was christened by its new name of Yale College, and in 1719 Timothy Cutler was made resident rector or president of the college.²

The college seemed at last to be definitely established; but it soon sustained a severe shock through the conversion of President Cutler to the principle

¹ Papers by Dexter and Baldwin, in *New Haven Colony Hist. Soc., Papers*, III., 1-32, 405-442. ² Dexter, *Ibid.*, 227-248.

of episcopal ordination. The trustees, however, proved equal to the occasion; Cutler was promptly deposed and a drastic rule was adopted excluding from the government of the college any one who might be tainted with "Arminian and Prelatical Corruptions." Yale College was thus more carefully forearmed against heresy than Harvard had ever been. Cutler's successors, Williams and Clap, both proved efficient administrators and safe theologians, and the college became prosperous and influential. Yale was the academic headquarters of thoroughgoing Calvinism both for New England and the middle colonies; and it trained the two great Calvinistic teachers of the period, Jonathan Dickinson and Jonathan Edwards, who became later the first two presidents of the college of New Jersey. Some of the secular leaders of the middle colonies were also educated at Yale, including such New-Yorkers as William Smith the historian and William Livingston the politician and later revolutionary leader.¹

The enthusiasm of Cotton Mather and his friends for Yale was largely due to their consciousness of waning influence at Harvard, where there had long been a vigorous contest between liberals and conservatives for the control of the college. The Mathers desired a new charter in place of the old one of 1650, which should secure the doctrinal

¹ Trumbull, *Hist. of Connecticut*, II., 22 et seq.; Clap, *Annals or History of Yale College*; Talcott Papers, I., 6, n., 58.

orthodoxy of the college. No act, however, which the colonists could agree upon, was acceptable to the crown or its agent the governor; until in 1707 the difficulty was solved by a short resolution declaring the old charter to be still in force.

The more liberal element in the church was gradually increasing its representation in the corporation, and in 1707, with the help of Governor Dudley, they elected John Leverett as president. In 1717 the Mather influence suffered another severe check when two more ministers of the liberal school were elected to the corporation. In 1722 the conservatives were strong enough to get through the general court a vote which, by adding the resident tutors to the corporation, would have eliminated the objectionable new members, but this project was blocked by Governor Shute.¹

These controversies between ecclesiastical factions, though petty enough in themselves, are historically significant because they involve the important issue of academic freedom against ecclesiastical control; and because the victory of the liberals made the college for the future one of the strong humanizing forces in New England life. In other ways, also, this was a period of educational progress for Harvard. In 1721 and 1727 the London merchant, Thomas Hollis, established the first two professorships at the college, one in divinity and one in nat-

¹ Quincy, *Harvard University*, I., chaps. iv.-xiv., *passim*, and App.

ural philosophy. The latter chair was assigned, in 1738, to John Winthrop, a young graduate who during forty years of service was to be one of the best representatives in America of the scholar's life.¹

Educational progress came more slowly in the middle colonies. The Quakers of Pennsylvania believed thoroughly in elementary education, but they cared little for the higher learning, partly because they had no clergy requiring special teaching. The first college in Pennsylvania was not founded until 1755, and then the chief mover in the enterprise was Benjamin Franklin, a transplanted New-Englander. Perhaps the most important Pennsylvania school founded before that time was the one established at Philadelphia in 1697 and subsequently known as the William Penn Charter School.²

In New York the presence of two distinct nationalities interfered seriously with educational progress, and, though there were schools in the province, they had a poor reputation. William Smith the historian, himself a native and prominent citizen of the province, wrote in 1756 that the schools were "in the lowest order."³

In New Jersey a law authorizing towns to levy taxes for the support of public schools was passed as early as 1693, and during the next half-century

¹ Quincy, *Harvard University*, I., 232-241, 398, 399, II., 25-27.

² Cf. Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment in Government* (ed. of 1902), I., 35 et seq.

³ Smith, *Hist. of New York* (ed. of 1756), 229.

a considerable number of schools were actually established. The educational leadership in New Jersey came largely from the Presbyterian church, which had gathered to itself not merely the original Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish stock, but their fellow-Calvinists from New England, Holland, and Germany. Largely through the efforts of Presbyterian ministers, the first charter of the College of New Jersey was granted in 1746, three of the four principal ministerial promoters being graduates of Yale, and one of Harvard. A year later, another Harvard graduate, Jonathan Belcher, became governor of New Jersey, and through his efforts a new charter was granted, which placed the college upon a secure foundation. Thus the higher education of the middle colonies was in large measure the product of New England training.¹ No other college was founded in the middle region before 1750, but the subject was already attracting attention, and the next decade saw the founding of Columbia College under Anglican auspices at New York, and of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, the freest from ecclesiastical control of all the colonial colleges.

An important evidence of a developing civilization is the accumulation of private and public libraries. In the endowment of the early American colleges, notably of Harvard and Yale, donations

¹ De Witt, in Murray, *Hist. of Education in N. J.* (U. S. Bureau of Education, No. 1.), chap. ix.

ural philosophy. The latter chair was assigned, in 1738, to John Winthrop, a young graduate who during forty years of service was to be one of the best representatives in America of the scholar's life.¹

Educational progress came more slowly in the middle colonies. The Quakers of Pennsylvania believed thoroughly in elementary education, but they cared little for the higher learning, partly because they had no clergy requiring special teaching. The first college in Pennsylvania was not founded until 1755, and then the chief mover in the enterprise was Benjamin Franklin, a transplanted New-Englander. Perhaps the most important Pennsylvania school founded before that time was the one established at Philadelphia in 1697 and subsequently known as the William Penn Charter School.²

In New York the presence of two distinct nationalities interfered seriously with educational progress, and, though there were schools in the province, they had a poor reputation. William Smith the historian, himself a native and prominent citizen of the province, wrote in 1756 that the schools were "in the lowest order."³

In New Jersey a law authorizing towns to levy taxes for the support of public schools was passed as early as 1693, and during the next half-century

¹ Quincy, *Harvard University*, I., 232-241, 398, 399, II., 25-27.

² Cf. Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment in Government* (ed. of 1902), I., 35 et seq.

³ Smith, *Hist. of New York* (ed. of 1756), 229.

initiative in this field was the public subscription library in Philadelphia founded by Franklin in 1731 and incorporated in 1742. Franklin tells us that "The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces . . . reading became fashionable; and our people, having no publick amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books, and in a few years were observ'd by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries." A somewhat similar movement resulted in the formation of the Charleston Library Society in 1743.¹

The development of journalism is one of the most important social facts of this provincial era. At the close of the seventeenth century there was not a single newspaper published in North America, and even after the founding of the *Boston News Letter*, in 1704, fifteen years passed before it had any rival on the continent. During the next two decades, however, newspapers were established in Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. These were generally weekly publications, very imperfect in their reports of American news, giving considerable space to English court life and parliamentary procedure and to scientific or literary essays. Though often cautious

¹ Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow's ed.), I., 167-170; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 510-512.

about the expression of editorial views, they became important agencies of political controversy, and furnish to-day valuable sources of information upon numerous aspects of provincial politics.¹

During the first half of the eighteenth century Boston was the chief journalistic centre in the colonies, and in 1735 there were five newspapers simultaneously published in the town. There Franklin began his career as printer and journalist by assisting his brother in the publication of the *New England Courant*. Papers of a much higher order were the *New England Weekly Journal* and the *Weekly Rehearsal*, afterwards continued in the *Boston Weekly Post*, which had distinctly literary aims and received contributions from leading ministers and laymen.²

During the seventeenth century the clergy were almost the only educated professional men in America. Lawyers were few and were regarded with suspicion, and there were few thoroughly trained physicians. During the next half-century there was a decided advance in all of these professions. The development of the Anglican church brought into the middle and southern colonies a few clergymen like Blair in Virginia and Garden in South Carolina, who had shared in the best educational opportunities of their time and yet were ready to spend their lives in the New World.

¹ Thomas, *Hist. of Printing* (Am. Antiq. Soc., *Collections*, VI.), II., 7-204, *passim*.

² Goddard, in Winsor, *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, II., chap. xv.

In New England the clergy lost ground relatively, but their best men began to show a broader spirit. At the beginning of this era the representative men were the two Mathers, especially Cotton Mather, who, though a man of great learning, felt it to be one of his chief functions to check the rising tide of innovation. With all his voluminous publications, he lacked the scholar's critical instinct. The men who succeeded him differed from him not so much in their formal statements of doctrine as in their more tolerant temper. Such a man was Benjamin Colman, one of the liberals whose influence in Harvard College was so much dreaded by Cotton Mather. "There are some practices and principles," he said, "that look Catholic, which though I cannot reason myself into, yet I bear a secret reverence to in others, and dare not for the world speak a word against. Their souls look enlarged to me and mine does so the more to myself, for not daring to judge them." Yet Colman had misgivings about Yale College accepting Berkeley's generous gift of books.¹

The most scholarly Puritan minister of the next generation was Thomas Prince, a graduate of Harvard in 1707, and for forty years pastor of the South Church in Boston. Prince found time to build up a large library and to write his scholarly though fragmentary *Chronological History of New England*

¹ Tyler, *Hist. of Am. Literature* (ed. of 1879), II., 171-175; Tyler in Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I., 537.

In his dedication he enunciated principles of scholarship strikingly different from those of the *Magnalia Christi*. "I would not," he said, "take the least iota upon trust, if possible," and "I cite my vouchers to every passage."¹

The progress of the medical profession was comparatively slow. One of the best-known and in some respects most intelligent of American physicians during this period was William Douglass, the author of an entertaining but not quite trustworthy historical and descriptive account of the colonies. Strangely enough, the sceptical Douglass opposed inoculation as a protection against small-pox, while Cotton Mather defended it. William Smith gave a gloomy view of physicians in New York about the middle of the eighteenth century, declaring that there were few really skilful ones, while "quacks abound like locusts in Egypt." South Carolina had a few physicians who showed not only practical skill but some capacity for scientific research.²

At the beginning of the eighteenth century lawyers were so few that even the most important judicial positions were often filled by men without specific legal training. This was true in the southern and middle colonies as well as in New England. In South Carolina, for instance, the first professional lawyer of whom there seems to be any

¹ Quoted in Tyler, *Hist. of Am. Literature*, II., 145 et seq.

² Smith, *New York* (ed. of 1792), 230; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, chap. xxii.

definite record was Nicholas Trott, who came to the province in 1698.

During the next fifty years there was a steadily increasing number of trained lawyers, many of whom, especially in the southern and middle colonies, had learned their profession in England. The political leadership of the lawyers may be illustrated by such names as those of Charles Pinckney in South Carolina, Daniel Dulany the elder, in Maryland, and Andrew Hamilton in Pennsylvania, all professional lawyers and all leaders in their respective assemblies. Even Massachusetts, where the common-law traditions were weakest, was producing some strong lawyers; among them John Read, the leader among his contemporaries in the profession; Paul Dudley, a student at the Temple in London and afterwards attorney-general and chief-justice of his native province; and Jeremiah Gridley, who seems to have been a sort of mentor for the younger lawyers of the revolutionary era.¹

There are many evidences of increased refinement and of genuine intellectual interests. It has been said that the New-Englanders of the early eighteenth century show little appreciation of the contemporary literary movement in England; and it is true, for instance, that the Harvard College library contained few of the memorable books of the age of Anne. Nevertheless, Franklin while a boy in Boston undertook to form his style on the *Spectator*, and the

¹ Washburn, *Judicial Hist. of Mass.*, 207-209, 211, 283-287.

newspaper essays of the period show clearly the influence of Addison and Steele.¹

A wide-spread interest in natural science corresponded to the contemporary tendency of English thought; even Cotton Mather was interested in these studies, as were his contemporaries Joseph and Paul Dudley. Many Americans of that time were members of the Royal Society of London or contributors to its transactions, including the Winthrops and Paul Dudley in Massachusetts, William Byrd in Virginia, and the physician Lining of South Carolina. In Philadelphia the Quaker John Bartram won a European reputation as a naturalist; and there Franklin, in 1743, issued his appeal for the formation of an American philosophical society to stimulate and organize research.²

In some of the provincial towns there were considerable groups of cultivated people. With increasing wealth came a development of the æsthetic side of life, especially in domestic architecture and the furnishing of the house. The artist Smibert, who came to New England with Berkeley, left some portraits of representative provincial personages, which, like the later ones by Copley, indicate refined and comfortable standards of life.

Hugh Jones thought that while his Virginian friends were not much disposed "to dive into books,"

¹ Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow's ed.), I., 47; Goddard, in Winsor, *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, II., chap. xv.

² Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow's ed.), I., 480.

their "quick apprehension" gave them a "Sufficiency of Knowledge and Fluency of Tongue." During the second quarter of the eighteenth century the genteel public of Charleston was listening to lectures on natural science, paying good prices at the theatre to see such plays as Addison's tragedy of "Cato," and observing St. Cecilia's day by a concert of vocal and instrumental music. William Smith, writing of New York, gives the impression, confirmed by later writers, of a community which had some of the social graces, but was not very intellectual.¹

Boston was thought by the Anglican clergyman, Burnaby, in 1760, to be "undeniably forwarder in the arts" than either Pennsylvania or New York. He considered their public buildings "more elegant" and observed "a more general turn for music, painting, and the belles lettres." The strict observance of Sunday was still a subject of comment by visitors, and the theatre was under the ban, but otherwise the Puritan discipline was much relaxed. Smith thought his own people of New York "not so gay as our neighbors at Boston," and in 1740 the Boston ladies were reported as indulging "every little piece of gentility to the height of the mode."²

In Boston and New York, as well as in Annapolis,

¹ Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (ed. of 1865), 44; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 492, 526-528.

² Smith, *New York* (ed. of 1792), 229; Burnaby, *Travels* (Pinkerton, *Voyages*, XIII.), 730, 738, 747; cf. Hart, *Contemporaries*, II., chaps. xii., xiv.; Winsor, *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, II., chap. xvi.

Williamsburg, and Charleston, English models were closely followed in dress and social practices, though it was observed in New York that the London fashions were adopted in America just as they were going out of use in England.¹

Provincial society was growing richer, freer, more cosmopolitan in the eighteenth century, but it was felt by many to be losing in ethical and religious vigor. Significant as a protest against the prevailing tendencies of the time was the religious revival which had for its chief preachers Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. The "Great Awakening" may be said to have begun in 1734 with the revival in Edwards's Church at Northampton, in western Massachusetts. A short period of comparative inaction followed, but in 1739 the smouldering fire was fanned into flame by the passionate eloquence of Whitefield. The new revival spread through the southern and middle colonies and produced a powerful impression upon nearly all classes. Even the unemotional Franklin found it hard at times to resist the spell of Whitefield's oratory.

Gradually, however, the inevitable reaction came; for the movement was unwelcome not only to those who were tinged with the new secular spirit, but also to many who stood for the old ecclesiastical order. Thus Whitefield found among his antagonists the Anglican commissary Garden, of South Caro-

¹ *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas*, 6, 17; Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (ed. of 1865), 31.

lina, many of the leading Puritan ministers of New England, and the faculties of Yale and Harvard.¹ By 1745 the "Great Awakening" had largely spent its force, and to-day men question whether it really helped or harmed the cause of morals and true religion. Many of its leaders were men of no great significance in American life; and even Whitefield was not a man of commanding intellect or character.

One of these men cannot be so easily dismissed. Jonathan Edwards was not only a preacher of extraordinary power, trying to bring back his people to the hard but virile Calvinism from which they were gradually drifting, but (perhaps the keenest and most original thinker America has ever produced.) A graduate of Yale College at a time when it seemed on the verge of disintegration, he spent nearly all his life as the pastor of a small country town. Yet the great Scotch metaphysician, Stewart, said of him that in "logical acuteness and subtilty" he was not inferior "to any disputant bred in the universities of Europe"; and the German scholar, Immanuel Fichte, nearly a century after Edwards's death, expressed his admiration for the contributions to ethical theory made by this "solitary thinker of North America."²

This preacher and metaphysician was also a gen-

¹ Palfrey, *New England*, V., 1-41.

² Fisher, "The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards," in *North American Review*, CXXVIII., 284-303.

uine poet. Like Dante, he used his imaginative power in depicting the terrors of the world to come for those who died unsaved, but he was also finely sensitive to beauty in nature and in the world of spirit. His record of his early spiritual experience contains many passages of exquisite beauty. In one of them he describes "the soul of a true Christian" as resembling "such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory, rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragranc; standing peacefully and lovingly, in the midst of other flowers round about; all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun."¹

Edwards was born in 1703 and Franklin in 1706, both before the close of the first century of English colonization. The two men were alike in the keenness and range of their intellectual interests, and alike also in a reputation transcending the limits of the provincial communities in which they lived. In other respects they were as opposite as the poles. In sharp contrast to Franklin, with his worldly wisdom, his unemotional temper, and his matter-of-fact philanthropy, stands the great idealist Edwards, who in his writings and his life probably approached more nearly than any American before or since his time the highest levels of the human spirit.

In 1743, while Edwards was absorbed in the

¹ Edwards, *Works* (Dwight's ed.), I., lvi.

problems of the Great Awakening, Franklin wrote his *Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America*,¹ in which he urged that, "the first drudgery of settling new colonies" being "pretty well over," Americans might do their part in scientific and philosophical inquiry. Certainly his own achievements and those of Edwards might well have encouraged such a hope.

From these studies, however, Franklin himself was soon diverted by new and perplexing political problems. Already the final struggle was coming on for the mastery of the continent. Already, too, there lay beneath the obscure questions of provincial politics deeper issues which were to estrange the colonies from the mother-country and force upon them the great problems of government for a new nation. Thus politics rather than speculation became the absorbing interest of the next generation, which saw the end of the provincial era.

¹ Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow's ed.), I., 480

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE OF NEW FRANCE

(1750)

BEFORE entering upon the story of the last and fateful struggle between France and England for the mastery of the North American continent, it will be helpful briefly to study the people of the warring colonies; for the contest was not only national, it was largely a measuring of strength between social and political systems fundamentally opposed to each other and unable permanently to exist as neighbors.

The climate of Canada was not as well adapted to the purposes of seventeenth-century colonization as that wherein the English colonies had been planted. In our day of superior agricultural knowledge, methods, and utensils, a new colony might soon acquaint itself with the climate and soil conditions of the lower St. Lawrence, and by mastering the production problem become self-supporting. In the period of New France, however, even the most favorably situated European plantations in America had for several seasons practically to be maintained from the mother-land, and starvation was

often imminent in the midst of abundant natural resources which the settlers knew not how to utilize. The English colonists, soon left by their government largely to shift for themselves, were forced to starve or to dig, and after some bitter experiences in due time found themselves; but to New France the harsh climate and stubborn soil of the north were more serious obstacles, which her people, paternally nurtured, and thus lacking initiative, were long in overcoming.

While in many ways the situation of Quebec was a source of strength,¹ time came when there were seen to be certain disadvantages in centring the colony at such distance from the sea-coast. The entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence is so far northward that storms and ice-floes endanger navigation during half the year. Colonial possessions over-seas cannot successfully be maintained unless the mother-country possesses the means of easy and frequent communication with them; and their importance to the latter is largely dependent on their value as naval bases. With the loss of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Acadia, France was left with slight hold upon the North American coast; the St. Lawrence afforded her but a slender naval base compared with the fine shore dominated by the English colonies to the south.

The fisheries of New France were important; although, quite unlike the New-Englanders, perhaps

¹ See chap. i., Thwaites' *France in America*.

most of the deep-sea fishers required government assistance. Characteristically unwilling to leave their homes for inhospitable foreign shores, it was found necessary artificially to stimulate the industry,¹ and many harsh measures seemed essential, to make the situation unpleasant for English poachers; yet the latter were often able clandestinely to sell their cargoes to the enterprising French.² Sometimes Frenchmen, however, would put in their nets as far south as Cape Cod; and conflicts between rival fishing fleets were not infrequent incidents, tending to keep alive the long-smouldering sparks of racial hostility.³

The fur-trade was the most important of the French colonial interests, and practically a government monopoly. The great river flowing past their doors, which drained an immense and unknown area of forested wilderness, peopled with strange tribes of wild men, fired the imagination of the men of New France. In an age of exploration, and themselves among the most inquisitive and adventurous people of Europe, Frenchmen—led by Champlain himself, who had the *wanderlust* within his veins—pushed their way in birch canoes up the St. Lawrence and its great affluents, the Saguenay, the Ottawa, the Richelieu, and their wide-stretching drainage systems. Soon they discovered, in the

¹ Marmette, in *Canadian Archives*, 1888, cxxxvii.

² Bourinot, *Cape Breton*, 31; Murdoch, *Nova Scotia*, 430.

³ Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, I., 106-108.

heart of the continent, the interlocking systems of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan; and these led them still farther and farther afield through endless chains and ramifications of glistening waterways.

Eastern Canada was not rich in peltries; the growing wariness of the wild animals soon led both white and savage hunters ever westward, into the darkest recesses of the wilderness, where were abundantly found the finest furs yet seen by Europeans. The up-stream movement of trade and settlement was amazingly rapid. We have seen that it was not long before New France held all the wild interior between the Rockies and the Alleghanies, and the Saskatchewan and New Orleans, with a thin line of small, fur-trade stockades and the Jesuit missions which formed so important an element in her plan of conquest. North of New York and New England, the international boundary was much as it is to-day, save for Acadia, which was still undefined and but nominally under British rule.

But though New France had soon spread ambitiously throughout the heart of the continent, in sharp distinction to the compact and slowly expanding growth of the English colonies, her resources and her population were far inferior. From the first, the court at Versailles made strenuous efforts to people the colony. The early commercial monopolies, which dominated New France until it was made a royal province in 1663, were under

bonds to induce migration thither.¹ Unlike the English, however, the French have never been fond of colonizing. A complete satisfaction with home conditions, rendering them unwilling to look abroad, is even in our day deprecated by many wise Frenchmen as a serious national weakness. Bounties to immigrants, importation of unmarried women to wed the superabundant bachelors, ostracism for the unmarried of either sex, official rewards for large families—all these measures were freely and persistently adopted by the French colonial officials. And yet, after nearly a century and a half, but eighty thousand whites constituted the semi-dependent and unprogressive population of Canada and Louisiana, over a stretch of territory above two thousand miles in length, against the million and a quarter of self-supporting English colonists, who for the most part were, from Georgia to New Hampshire, massed on the narrow coast between the Appalachians and the sea.

The government of New France was that of an autocracy, continually subject to direction from Versailles, where a fickle-minded monarch and a corrupt court played fast and loose with their often misguided colony.² The colony was governed quite

¹ Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 95, 115, 136.

² For general survey, see Garneau, *Canada* (Bell's trans.), I., book III., chap. iii.; Parkman, *Old Régime*, chap. xvi.; Bourinot, in *Const. Hist. of Canada*, 7-11, and "Local Government in Canada," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, V., 10-20.

similarly to a province in France. The governor, generally both a soldier as well as a statesman, and as a rule carefully selected, was in control of both the civil and military administration—although we shall see that a military commander was sometimes introduced as a coadjutor—and reported directly to his sovereign. With the governor were associated the intendant and the bishop; the former a legal and financial officer intrusted with the public expenditures, exercising certain judicial functions, presiding over the council, and confidentially reporting to the king, being regarded as a check upon the governor, with whom his relations were, as a matter of course, often strained. The bishop saw to it that the interests of the church were constantly considered, and had a large body of supporters in the parish priests, who on their part exercised a powerful local influence.

These three autocrats, who were the actual rulers, save when interfered with from Versailles, had associated with them a body of resident councillors—at first five, later twelve—appointed by the crown, usually for life, upon the nomination of the governor and intendant. The three chief officials, who of course dominated the body, united with these men in forming the superior council, which exercised executive, legislative, and judicial powers, the only appeal from their decisions being to the home government. There were local governors at Montreal and Three Rivers, with but little authority or dignity,

for even warrants for fines and imprisonments must be issued from Quebec; and subordinate courts, established by an attorney-general who was stationed at the capital, were to be found at all important villages. The officers of justice were appointed without regard to their legal qualifications, being chosen by favor from among the military men or the prominent inhabitants.

Local government was absolutely unknown. No public meetings for any purpose whatsoever, even to discuss the pettiest affairs of the parish or the market, were permitted unless special license be granted by the intendant, a document seldom even applied for. "Not merely was [the Canadian colonist] allowed no voice in the government of his Province, or the choice of his rulers, but he was not even permitted to associate with his neighbors for the regulation of those municipal affairs which the central authority neglected under the pretext of managing."¹ Absolutism and centralization could not have been more securely intrenched.

In order that nothing might be lacking in this autocratic system, there was created by Richelieu, in the charter of the Hundred Associates (1627), an order of nobility. None was needed in so raw a colony, where poverty was the rule, and democracy more nearly fitted the needs of the situation;

¹ Earl of Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (January 31, 1839), 16. See also Parkman, *Old Régime*, 280, 281.

but the French could not then conceive of a state of society without its *noblesse*, therefore one was artificially produced.¹ Many of the military officers who came out with their regiments belonged to the minor *noblesse* of France; and, as an inducement to stay in New France when their terms expired, they were given as seigniories large tracts of land along the river and lake fronts. Sometimes the seigniories were uninhabited save by Indians and wild animals; while upon others were peasants (*habitants*), whose log-houses, whitewashed and dormer-windowed, lined the common highway perhaps a half-mile back from the water's edge, down to which sloped the fields of the seignior's tenants—narrow, ribbon-like strips, generally somewhat less than eight hundred feet wide, for these light-hearted people were gregarious and loved to be near their neighbors both on the highway and the waterway. Beyond the road the strips, while sometimes specified in the grants as being ten times their width (or nearly a mile and a half long), by custom continued as far back into the hinterland as proved convenient for pasturage or for crude agriculture.² Villages of this attenuated character often stretched for miles along the shore—densely for a mile or so on either side of a parish church, and then thinning out in the midway

¹ Parkman, *Old Régime*, chap. xv.

² The usual grant was four arpents frontage on the water by ten arpents deep, the arpent being equivalent to one hundred and ninety-two English linear feet.

spaces. The traveller of to-day sees upon the lower St. Lawrence, on the Saguenay, and in picturesque Gaspé, many scores of communities of this sort, survivals of the French régime.

Now and then a seignior was comparatively prosperous, as when given a district with fishing rights, assuring him toll upon his tenants' catch; but the lord was often quite as poor as his *habitants*, and continually subject to arbitrary official interference of every sort, even as to agreements between himself and his tenants (*censitaires*). Unless the seignior cleared his land within a stated time it was forfeited; and when he sold it a fifth of the price obtained was due, although not always paid, to his feudal superior. The rents obtainable from his tenants were generally in kind, and apt to be trifling—from four to sixteen francs annually for an ordinary holding. On his part, the tenant was supposed to patronize his seignior's grist-mill, to bake his bread (for a consideration) in the seigniorial oven, to do manual labor for him during a few days each year, and for the privilege of fishing before his own door to present the seignior with one fish in every eleven. But these duties were more nominal than real, and often the tenant's obligation was satisfied upon the annual performance of some petty act of ceremony—thus did they with serious aspect play at feudalism and satisfy the pride of the lords of the manor. But the seignior had no more voice in public affairs than his tenant—both were

equally ignored, save when some powerful rustic lord won recognition sufficient to secure his appointment to the council. He might not work at a trade, yet occasionally there were seigniors who tilled their own soil and whose wives and daughters labored by their side; and there are instances where these threadbare noblemen, chancing to be in favor, were actually provisioned by the king.¹

Unable otherwise to exist, the nobleman generally took kindly to the fur-trade, which meant a roving life, wherein much gayety was mingled with the roughest sort of adventure. When unable or unwilling to secure a government license, he became a *coureur de bois*, or illegal trader, a practice subjecting him to the penalty of outlawry; but the extreme punishment was seldom meted out. These gentlemen wanderers were of hardy stock, took kindly to the wild, uncouth life of the forest, readily fraternized with the savages, whose dress and manners they often affected, and, seldom possessing refined sentiments, frequently led Indian war-parties in bloody forays upon the frontiers of the detested English — disguised by grease - paint, breech - clout, and feathers, and outdoing their followers in cruelty. Each was an experienced partisan leader, with a small body of devoted retainers, who propelled his boats, kept his camp, defended his property and person, rallied around him on his raids, and were

¹ Parkman, *Old Régime*, 257-260.

as solicitous as he himself of the dignity of his caste.¹

A full third of the population was engaged in the fur-trade. From it the peasants, boatmen (*voyageurs*), trading-post clerks, and trappers won but the barest subsistence; many of the seigniors made heavy gains, although others, of an extremely adventurous type, like La Salle and Vérendrye, were swamped by the enormous expenses of the exploring expeditions which they undertook in the effort both to extend their own fields of operation and the sphere of French influence. The military officers at the wilderness outposts dabbled largely in this commerce; indeed, many of them, like Vérendrye, were given the trade monopoly of a considerable district as their only compensation. There are numerous instances of such officials amassing comfortable fortunes for that day, and retiring to France to spend them; although often their fur-trade, legitimate or illegitimate, was less responsible for such results than the speculation in which nearly all of them were engaged.

For corruption, especially during the closing years, was rampant throughout New France. The governor and ecclesiastics were seldom under the ban of suspicion; but the intendant was quite apt to be a rare rascal, and from him down to the commandant of the most far-away stockade extended a graded,

¹ Lahontan, *Voyages*, gives graphic pictures of the life of the colonial *noblesse*.

well-organized system, whereby public moneys and supplies from France were unconscionably preyed upon. Not even was the bench free from this stain. It was said of a certain judge of the admiralty, who was also judge of the inferior court of justice on Cape Breton: "This magistrate and the others of subordinate jurisdiction grew extremely rich, since they are interested in different branches of commerce, particularly the contraband."¹

Smuggling was everywhere practised, and as freely winked at by interested officials. It has already been stated that both French and English governments sought to confine their colonial commerce to vessels flying their own flags; but, despite severe laws, there was much clandestine trade. We have seen that Louisburg merchants maintained a considerable commerce with Boston, an irregularity overlooked by the garrison commandant because thence came a large share of his supplies. As early as 1725 Louisburg was becoming a considerable port of call for French vessels engaged in the West-Indian trade, and ships from England and her colonies were often in the harbor. It was thus natural that sugar, coffee, and tobacco from the French West Indies, and wine and brandy from France, should be exchanged with New England fishermen for codfish; and brick, lumber, meal, rum, and many other New England commodities found their way into New France.

¹ Pichon, *Memoirs*, quoted in Bourinot, *Cape Breton*, 30.

Even the French fur-trade was confronted by this demoralizing practice. It has been shown that their forest merchants were unable to offer as high prices for furs, in barter, as the English, owing to the greater cost of obtaining goods suitable for the Indian trade through the monopoly which hung over them as a pall; whereas Englishmen enjoyed free trade and open competition.¹ Wherever English traders could penetrate—into the Cherokee country, into the Ohio Valley, along the lower Great Lakes, on the Kennebec border, and upon the New York and New Hampshire frontier—the savages, keen at a bargain, would make long journeys to reach them with their pelts. The French inflamed the natural hatred of their allies for the English as a people, and resorted to bullying and often to force to prevent this diversion of custom, but often without avail.

Ecclesiastical affairs occupied a large share of popular attention in New France.² The bishop and his priests ruled not only in matters spiritual, but in most of those temporal concerns that were nearest to the daily life of the people. They were called "fathers" to their flock. No commoner, whether of fishers, *habitants*, or *seigneurs*, could do without either its secular priest or its missionary friar. The chapel or the church was the centre of every village, being generally t

¹ See Chap. II, *Canada, 1750*, p. 10.

² *Parlement, Les Rois, Chap. I.*

man in the parish, the *curé* was the local school-master, often also served as physician, and in every walk of life accompanied and guided his "children" from the cradle to the grave. The French colonists, naturally an obedient people, were deeply religious; they implicitly submitted to the father because they honored him as a counsellor and revered him as a man of God. Many of the ecclesiastics were bigoted, fanatical men, in political as well as in religious life; such as *Rale* were perhaps better fitted for partisan captains than spiritual leaders. But everywhere it was an age of bigotry and fanaticism; the annals of neither Old nor New England are spotless in this respect.

Take them by and large, in comparison with the religious of their time in other lands, and the priests and missionaries of New France will not suffer in the examination, either intellectually or spiritually. Indeed, the fascinating history of their remarkable and wide-spread Indian missions, particularly those of the Jesuits—although much might also be said in praise of the less strenuous Recollects, Sulpitians, and Capuchins—furnishes some of the most brilliant examples on record of self-sacrificing and heroic devotion to an exalted cause. The career of a village *curé* was less spectacular, but his work among the simple *habitants* was even more important in the spiritual life of the people; and although seldom alluded to in history, was not barren of incidents which called for a high degree of physical as well as of

moral courage. It is not necessary to be a Catholic, nor is it essential that from the stand-point of the twentieth century we should endorse the wisdom of its every act in the eighteenth, most profoundly to admire the work of the Church of Rome both among whites and savages in New France. American history would lose much of its welcome color were there blotted from its pages the picturesque and often thrilling story of the curés and friars of Canada in the French régime.

The one great mistake of the church, which all can now recognize, was the barring-out of the Huguenots from New France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, thereby driving to rival English settlements a considerable share of the brains and brawn of France, thus building up the rival at the expense of Canada.

Practically there were no manufactures in New France. Many of the vessels engaged in interior commerce were smuggled through from New England ship-yards. The fisheries were, as we have seen, to some extent artificially fostered. Agriculture was neglected, beyond the mere necessities of subsistence. Arms, hunting, and the fur-trade were the only callings that prospered among these mercurial, imaginative, and obedient folk, who were the victims of a paternal and military government that had not trained them to work without leading-strings. They were distinctly a people who needed,

so long as this policy continued, the constant support of a power that could keep in continual touch with them, one that could dominate the lanes of the intervening sea; and to this great task France was quite unequal.

Theoretically, every male in New France between the ages of sixteen and sixty was a soldier. It will be shown in a later chapter¹ that in 1756 there were perhaps fifteen thousand of them, nearly half of these engaged in callings, such as fishing or the fur-trade, that had accustomed them to the use of arms. There were, however, in garrison but twenty-five hundred regular troops of the colonial marine,² from France, together with a few troops of the line, increased under Montcalm to four thousand.

There were also available, either for harrying the English borders or upon regular campaigns, a considerable number of Indians, but how many, it would be idle to estimate, for no statistics have come down to us. Most of the tribes of the Algonquian stock between the Mississippi and the sea could be relied on as allies; but the five tribes of the masterly Iroquois³ might generally be considered as enemies, although there was ever an element of uncertainty in their policy, dependent both on the

¹ See chap. xii., Thwaites, *France in America*.

² French colonies were governed through the Department of Marine.

³ Greene, *Provincial America* (*Am. Nation*, VI.), chap. vii.

presence or absence of grievances with their English patrons and on the plausibility of French diplomacy, which was ever busy among these astute warriors.

With the exception, chiefly, of the Iroquois and the Foxes, the tribesmen entertained a real affection for the French, who, greatly desiring their trade, cultivated their alliance and treated them as friends and equals; an attitude far different from that of the English, who for the most part dealt with them honestly as customers, but could not conceal either their dislike of an inferior people or the fact that they were looked upon as subjects. French traders, explorers, and adventurers lived among the savages, took Indian women for their consorts, reared half-breed families, and, although representatives of the most polished nation of Europe, for the time being acted as though to the forest born.

French missionaries succeeded in the Indian villages as no Protestant Englishman, with his cold type of Christianity, has ever done. The French father lived with the brown people, shared their privations and burdens, and ministered with loving and sacrificing zeal both to their spiritual and their physical wants. Moreover, the Catholic church, with its combination of mysticism and ritualistic pomp, its banners and processions and symbolic images and pictures, strongly appealed to the barbarians. If not really Christianized—and there is room seriously to doubt whether more than the

merest handful of North American Indians have ever really been converted to the creed of the Nazarene—they at least came in large numbers to adopt the forms of Catholicism, deeming a “medicine” so efficacious among white people worthy of respectful attention.

We have seen that the people of New France had little individual enterprise; free association among them was discouraged; their manufactures and commerce were limited; lack of sea-power had resulted in neglect on the part of the mother-land; the colony's sparse population was thinly scattered over a vast area, and was poor in resources. It might have been, and doubtless was, thought by astute European observers that in Canada's death-struggle with the rival colonies to the south the end would soon be reached and would be inevitable.

But the contest was not to prove so one-sided as this. The autocratic polity of New France enabled her leaders to act as a unit; whereas against her were arrayed thirteen distinct provinces, with governors who had little authority and legislatures which debated and wrangled with painful deliberateness, trading on the presence of a grave public danger to gain concessions from the representatives of the crown. Such an enemy found it difficult to act in unison. The French colonists were poor, but they were intensely loyal to church and king, were trained to childlike obedience, were supremely contented under a paternalism that would have sorely

ed Englishmen, had enjoyed a fine schooling in hardy and adventurous life of the forest, and warlike and quick in action. Whereas their French rivals had been reared to trade, to love peace, to deliberate before they acted, to count the cost and to resent dictation. The English system was more favorable to peaceful growth; the French system was better suited for war. New France was but a pygmy, but she certainly had a good fighting chance.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH WAR REVEALS AN AMERICAN PEOPLE

(1763)

THE Seven Years' War left Great Britain the most powerful state on the globe, and heralded the rise of an English nation in the western hemisphere. Scarcely any other military struggle has produced so many events of decisive interest to mankind. At Rossbach Frederick achieved for Prussia the headship of the German people, thus in effect laying the basis of the present imperial union; at Plassey Clive gained for England an empire in the East, whose borders are still expanding; at Quebec the victory of Wolfe won for the English race, though not finally for England, the political leadership of the western continents.

In a very real sense the year 1763 may be taken as marking the beginning of the American Revolu-

tion. The causes of that event are indeed far-reaching. They are as old as the colonial system itself. In many ways for more than a century, although they knew it not, the people of the thirteen provinces were being schooled and disciplined for their part in it. Almost in spite of themselves they were becoming moulded into one social body, an American society, which with the attainment of self-consciousness must inevitably demand a larger and freer, if not an entirely independent life. Their social consciousness was, in fact, stirred by the experiences of the war; and thereafter it was swiftly quickened and nourished by the blunders of the imperial administration.¹

Looked at in this way, the revolutionary struggle reaches over a score of years, beginning with the peace of Paris and ending with the treaty of 1783. It comprises two well-defined stages. The first stage, closing with Washington's entrance upon command of the Continental army in July, 1775, is chiefly devoted to debate, to a contest of arguments, called out by the successive incidents of the halting ministerial policy, and occasionally interrupted by acts of popular or military violence. The second stage, except for the interval following the battle of Yorktown, is filled mainly with the agony of organized warfare, the clash of arms. With the history of the twelve years constituting the first of

¹ For the condition and organization of the colonies, see Greene, *Provincial America* (*American Nation*, VI.), chap. xii.

these stages, it is the purpose of this book to deal, only now and then, as in the case of the writs of assistance or the navigation laws, reaching back to events of earlier origin.

For the colonists the moral and social results of the French and Indian War were very great. In the first place, they were relieved from the dread of a foreign foe whose garrisons, stretching in irregular line from Quebec to New Orleans, had hemmed them in and checked their westward march. With the cession of the Floridas to England, the Spanish rival was thrust farther from their doors.¹ The fall of the French dominion, the weakening of the arm of Spain, and the failure of Pontiac had much lessened the peril from the red race. With the French or Spanish pioneers the English colonists had not feared to compete; nor did they feel themselves unequal to dealing with the Indian tribes. But there was always the anxiety lest the tomahawk and the scalping-knife might be raised through intrigues of a white enemy; and they deemed it just that the imperial government should protect them from the encroachments of a foreign soldiery.

That the presence of the French was believed to be a very real danger is revealed by abundant evidence covering the whole period from the surprise of Schenectady, in 1690, to the end of the

¹For the French and Indian War, see Thwaites, *France in America* (*American Nation*, VII.), chaps. x.-xvi.

war.¹ Thus, in 1709, Jeremiah Dummer, who the next year began his term of service as agent of Massachusetts in London, "shows how early and passionate among the English colonies in America was the dread of the American power of France," declaring "that those colonies can never be easy or happy 'whilst the French are masters of Canada.'"² The effect of the French settlements, reports Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in 1731, "is that the Indians are frequently instigated and influenced by them to disturb the peace and quiet of this province, we having been often put to a vast expense both of blood and treasure, to defend ourselves against their cruel outrages."³ At the close of the war the American colonists found themselves freed from this long-standing menace.

Moreover, their imaginations were quickened and their mental horizon was expanded by the geographical results. For now, with the exception of the island of New Orleans, an imperial domain stretching from the Arctic to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, concealing illimitable riches within its mountains and its plains, was

¹ See Monseignat's letter to Madame de Maintenon, in Hart, *Contemporaries*, II., 337.

² Dummer, *Letter to a Noble Lord*, 4, quoted by Tyler, *Hist. of Am. Lit.*, II., 119.

³ N. H. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, I., 227-230. Regarding the similar danger from the French on the Mississippi, see Spotswood, in Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, new series, II., 295.

thrown open to the industrial conquest of the English race. The enlarged view caused by this new environment is a fact of vast significance in estimating the forces underlying the contest for American independence. The colonist had grown in self-reliance, in mental stature. A greater destiny seemed to await him, and the friends of provincial subjection were already jealous of the possible consequences of his wider ambition. Before the war the Swedish traveller, Peter Kalm, writing in 1748, records the views of this class. It is "of great advantage to the crown of England," he says, "that the North American colonies are near a country, under the government of the French, like Canada. There is reason to believe that the king never was earnest in his attempts to expel the French from their possessions there; though it might have been done with little difficulty. For the English colonies in this part of the world have encreased so much in their number of inhabitants, and in their riches, that they almost vie with Old England." "I have been told" that "in the space of thirty or fifty years" they "would be able to form a state by themselves, entirely independent" of the mother-country.¹ For like reasons, in 1760, when peace seemed near at hand, the ministry were urged to yield Canada rather than Guadeloupe to the French. According to William Burke, a friend and kinsman of the celebrated statesman, Canada in French hands

¹ Kalm, *Travels*, I., 262-265.

was necessary to preserve the "balance of power in America." If "the people of our colonies," he insisted, "find no check from Canada, they will extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts. They will increase infinitely from all causes. What the consequences will be to have a numerous, hardy, independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England," he leaves to "conjecture."¹

Replying to Burke's pamphlet, Franklin, then representing Pennsylvania in London, with characteristic eloquence and force presented the other side of the case in 1760. With Canada in English hands, "our planters will no longer be massacred by the Indians,' who must then depend upon us for supplies; and in the event of another war with France we shall not be put "to the immense expense of defending that long-extended frontier." True, the colonists would thrive and multiply. In a century, at the present rate of increase, "British subjects on that side the water" would be "more numerous than they now are on this." But with right treatment their growing power would not affect their allegiance. They have different governments, laws, interests, and even manners. "Their jealousy of each other is so great, that however necessary a union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and security against their

¹ Burke, *Remarks on the Letter Addressed to Two Great Men*, 30.

enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been of that necessity," such a union has thus far been impossible. If not against the French and the Indians, "can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have so many connexions and ties of blood, interest, and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love much more than they love one another?" While "the government is mild and just, while important religious and civil rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. *The waves do not rise but when the winds blow.*" On the other hand, nothing is more likely to render "substantial" the "visionary danger of independence" than the heartless exposure of the colonists again to the "neighborhood of foreigners at enmity" with their sovereign. Will they then "have reason to consider themselves any longer as subjects and children, when they find their cruel enemies hallooed upon them by the country from whence they sprung; the government that owes them protection, as it requires their obedience?" Should the ministry take this course, it "would prevent the assuring to the British name and nation a stability and permanency that no man acquainted with history durst have hoped for till our American possessions opened the pleasing prospect."¹ Pitt agreed with

¹ Franklin, *Interest of Great Britain Considered, with Regard to Her Colonies*, in *Works* (Bigelow's ed.), III., 83.

Franklin, taking a course consistent with broad statesmanship and generous humanism.

In another way the war had prepared the colonists for the approaching contest. They had gained military experience and become aware of their own military strength. Battling side by side with the British regulars against the veterans of France, they had won confidence in themselves. They had tested their own fighting capacity, and had learned the need of modifying European tactics and European methods to suit the exigencies of frontier warfare. Moreover, at the Revolution the colonies possessed some officers and men who had been trained in actual warfare.

Most significant of all the results of the war was its influence in forcing out the already nascent sentiment of social unity. Founded at different times, under separate charters, and for diverse motives, the American provinces were in fact thirteen distinct societies. Except for their allegiance to a common sovereign, they were in theory as independent as if they had been foreign states. They waged commercial and even physical war upon each other. Political, economic, and religious antagonisms hindered their healthier growth. Social isolation is the mark of colonial as well as of Hellenic history; and in the one case it was nearly as harmful as in the other. Its evils were early perceived; and for more than a century before the outbreak of the French war one finds occasional experiments,

plans, or opinions which give expression to the desire for a political union of all or a part of the colonies. Such, in 1643, was the New England Confederation, which, in spite of its defects, served well for a time the needs of its members.¹ Even the hated general government of Andros taught its adversaries an unintended lesson which bore fruit after many days.² The value of federation was suggested, while the arguments, the methods, and the spirit with which the policy of Grenville and Townshend was resisted were then anticipated.³

From this time onward, as population grew, business expanded, and the final struggle with France drew near, the need of a common colonial government was felt more and more keenly by thoughtful men.⁴ As early as 1698 William Penn prepared "A brief and plain scheme how the English colonies in the North parts of America . . . may be made more useful to the crown and one another's peace and safety with an universal concurrence." Under the presidency of a royal commissioner a representative congress is to assemble at least once in two years. It is to be composed of two "appointed and stated

¹ Tyler, *England in America* (*American Nation*, IV.), chap. xviii.

² Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (*American Nation*, V.), chaps. xvi., xvii.

³ Letter of "Phileroy Philopatriis," *Colonial Papers*, 1683, December 14, quoted by Doyle, *Puritan Colonies*, II., 223.

⁴ Greene, *Provincial America* (*American Nation*, VI.), chap. xi.

deputies" from each province; and its "business shall be to hear and adjust all matters of complaint or difference between province and province," including absconding debtors, extradition, commerce, and ways and means for securing the safety and united action of the colonies against the public enemies.¹ In the same year Charles Davenant, praising this "constitution," suggests the creation of a "national assembly" to exercise powers similar to those assigned by Penn to his "congress." "Though he advocated an exercise of the full power of the mother country over the colonies," says Frothingham,² "yet he urged also a principle constantly put forth by them; namely, that, in any government that might be established over them, care should be taken to observe sacredly the charters and terms under which the emigrants, at the hazard of their lives, had effected discoveries and settlements"; and "one of his liberal remarks is, that the stronger and greater the colonies grow, 'the more they would benefit the crown and the kingdom; and nothing but such an arbitrary power as shall make them desperate can bring them to rebel.'" A "Virginian," writing in 1701, criticises the schemes of Penn and Davenant, urging that the colonies ought to have, not an equal number of deputies in the general assembly, but a representa-

¹ *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, IV., 296.

² Davenant, *Discourse on the Plantation Trade*, quoted in Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, III.

tion better apportioned according to their respective numbers and resources.¹

In 1722 Daniel Coxe, anticipating some features of Franklin's plan, recommended that "all the colonies appertaining to the crown of Great Britain on the northern continent of America, be united in a legal, regular, and firm establishment," under a "lieutenant, or supreme governour," and with a representative assembly for control of its finances.² Plans more favorable to the prerogative were also suggested from time to time, as by Robert Livingston in 1701, and by Archibald Kennedy in 1752.³ Occasional congresses of governors and other officials for conference with the Indians likewise did something to extend intercolonial acquaintance and to kindle the slowly dawning perception of the essential solidarity of provincial interests throughout the continent.⁴

Finally, in 1754, the famous Plan of Union drafted by Franklin was actually accepted by the Albany convention. This constitution for a united American people, proposed by a representative convention, is a new and significant event in the history

¹ *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations*, 69, summarized by Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 109-112.

² Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolana*, Preface.

³ Livingston, in *N. Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist.*, IV., 874; Kennedy, *Importance of the Friendship of the Indians*, 7-15, 38; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 116; part of the texts in *American History Leaflets*, No. 14.

⁴ Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, chap. iv.

of political science.¹ Among its provisions are some far wiser than the corresponding ones in the Articles of Confederation, of which it is the prototype. It never became a law. In America it was rejected as allowing "too much to prerogative," and in England "as having too much weight in the democratic part."

The assemblies did well to decline an instrument which by one of its provisions, not in Franklin's original draft, would have yielded to Parliament the right to change their local institutions. Yet in its failure Franklin's plan was a lasting success. The educational value of an earnest debate on the great problem of American union, taking place simultaneously throughout the thirteen colonies, should not be underestimated. At the very outbreak of the war a problem, which thus far for a few leaders had possessed mainly a literary or speculative interest, had definitively entered the field of practical politics. Still the hope of federation would have to flower before it could yield actual fruit. The heart of the plain people had not yet been touched. This is what the war effected. The experiences of the war called into being a real though inchoate popular opinion regarding the social destiny of the English race in America—a rudimentary national sentiment which impending events would speedily force into full and unquenchable life.

Hitherto there had not been, and under ordinary

¹ Thwaites, *France in America* (*American Nation*, VII.), chap. x.

circumstances there could hardly be, much inter-communication. Travel was then a serious business. By stage, four days were needed to go from Boston to New York, and three days more to reach Philadelphia. Even the "flying-machine," put on the road in 1766, required two days for the trip between the last-named cities. The newspapers were few, dear, and scant of information. In fair weather, to spread news throughout the colonies took three weeks, and much longer than that in winter. Few of the wealthy or public men of the south had ever seen those of the north. The common people of one colony had the vaguest notions regarding their neighbors in another, and often their intense provincialism was mingled with bitter prejudices bred by earlier antagonisms or rivalries. The war in many ways broke down the barriers and got people to know each other. Legislatures were called upon to discuss the same or similar measures. Men from Virginia or Pennsylvania met those of Massachusetts or Connecticut in council or on the march and by the camp-fire, and they succored one another in battle. The money and troops sent to the north by the southern and less exposed colonies bred "mutual good-will," and the colonial officers "forgot" their "jealousies" in the contempt shown for them by the British subalterns. The private soldiers, too, resented the patronizing airs of the king's regulars.¹

¹ Andrews, *United States*, I., 158; Weeden, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of New Eng.*, II., 668.

Negatively, in still another way the colonies were being drawn together and apart from the British government. For it was precisely at this time that alarm was caused by the schemes of the ministry and the suggestions of governors like Shirley of Massachusetts, Bernard of New Jersey, and Dinwiddie of Virginia, for raising a war revenue on the colonies and overriding their chartered rights. In 1754, as later in 1756 and 1760, the "British ministry heard one general clamor from men in office for taxation by act of parliament."¹ The governors were ordered to provide for quartering troops on the colonists and for impressing carriages and provisions for their support.² Almost everywhere bitter disputes arose between the assemblies and the executive bodies. The proprietors of Pennsylvania selfishly declined to share with the people the burden of extra taxation, leading to a prolonged struggle, in which in 1760 the assembly was victorious. In Maryland a similar contest with the proprietor was carried on.³

Under Newcastle as the nominal head, suggests a recent English scholar, "the two ministers who were practically responsible for the disasters which brought Pitt into office were Halifax, as president

¹ Bancroft, *United States* (ed. of 1885), II., 408-418, 443-449, 529-533.

² See orders of 1758, in Hubert Hall, "Chatham's Colonial Policy," in *Am. Hist. Review*, V., 664.

³ Black, *Maryland's Attitude in the Struggle for Canada* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, X₁, No. 7).

of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and Sir Thomas Robinson, as the departmental secretary of state. If we add to these military and naval advisers as pedantic as Ligonier and Anson, commanders such as Braddock and Loudoun, governors of the type of Shirley, and the whole crew of brigadiers and post-captains, attorneys-general, vice-admirals, and revenue officers, all prepared to take their cue from the sententious loyalty which pervaded the optimist despatches from Whitehall, we shall not be surprised if 'the just grievances of his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects' waited in vain for redress."¹ Nor need we wonder if a nagging and hectoring policy, just when there was supreme need of conciliation, should have aided in awakening the social consciousness of America.

Governor Shirley, indeed, in 1755, did not sympathize with the "apprehensions" that the colonies "will in time unite to throw off their dependency upon their mother country, and set up one general government among themselves." Their different constitutions, clashing interests, and opposite tempers made "such a coalition" seem "highly improbable." "At all events, they could not maintain such an independency without a strong naval force, which it must forever be in the power of Great Britain to hinder them from having"; and he makes the sinister suggestion, that "whilst his

¹ Hubert Hall, "Chatham's Colonial Policy," in *Am. Hist. Review*, V., 664.

majesty hath seven thousand troops kept up within them, with the Indians at command, it seems easy, provided his governors and principal officers are independent of the assemblies for their subsistence and commonly vigilant, to prevent any step of that kind from being taken.”¹ Others had a keener vision. In the same year John Adams, then a village school-teacher, believed that “if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest calculations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; then the united forces of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us.”²

Already, in 1730, Montesquieu had prophesied that because of the laws of navigation and trade England would be the first nation abandoned by her colonies.³ Not long thereafter, in his memoirs, Argenson predicted that the English colonies in America would sometime rise against the mother-country, form themselves into a republic, and astonish the world by their progress.⁴ In 1750,

¹ Shirley to Sir Thomas Robinson, August 15, 1755, in Bancroft, *United States* (10 vol. ed.), IV., 214.

² Adams, *Works*, I., 23.

³ Montesquieu, “Notes sur l’Angleterre,” in *Œuvres* (ed. of 1826), VIII., 452.

⁴ Argenson, *Pensées sur la Réformation de l’État*, I., 55, 56.

twenty-five years before Washington had begun to favor independence, Turgot had likened colonies to fruit which clings to the parent stem only until ripe, and predicted that what Carthage once did "America will sometime do."¹ On learning of the terms of the treaty of 1763, Vergennes, then French ambassador at Constantinople, said that "the consequences of the entire cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence."²

The population of the colonies was of first-rate quality for nation - building. The basis was of Anglo-Saxon stock. The New England people were almost pure English, with slight intermixture of Scotch-Irish and other elements. The Scotch were numerous, notably in New Hampshire and North Carolina. There were French Huguenots, particularly in South Carolina, a few Swedes in Delaware, Dutch in New Jersey and New York, while perhaps a third of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania were Germans. According to the most careful estimate, the thirteen colonies in 1760 had a total

¹ Stephens, *Turgot*, 165.

² Vergennes, as quoted in Bancroft, *United States* (ed. of 1885), II., 564.

population of about 1,600,000; 2,000,000 in 1767; 2,200,000 in 1770; 2,600,000 in 1775; 2,800,000 in 1780.¹ In 1763, therefore, the whole number of souls was not far from 1,775,000. Of this number about 360,000 were negroes, slave and free, of whom more than three-fourths were south of Pennsylvania.

In 1775 Massachusetts had about 335,000 inhabitants; Pennsylvania 300,000; New York 190,000; North Carolina over 265,000; and Virginia 450,000, of whom one-third were blacks. The colonial population was doubling itself in twenty-three years, and it was very largely rural. As in the Old World, the tide of migration to urban centres was only beginning. In 1763 there were but four towns of considerable size in the country: Boston and Philadelphia² each with about 20,000, New York with perhaps 12,000, and Charleston with 9000 persons. Baltimore may have had 5000, Providence 4000, and Albany 3000. Nearly five per cent. of the colonial population was then urban; whereas, by the census of 1900, over forty per cent. of the people of continental United States dwell in towns of at least 2500 inhabitants.

At the beginning of the Revolution servants by indenture were still being advertised for sale. These included free persons, whom necessity forced into

¹ Dexter, *Estimates of Population in the American Colonies*, 50; Bancroft, *United States* (ed. of 1885), II., 390.

² See estimates for 1759 by Burnaby, *Travels* (ed. of 1775), 76, 133; Lecky, *England*, III., 303, 307.

temporary bondage, as well as banished convicts.¹ Thus, in 1753, it was announced that the *Greyhound* had arrived at the Severn, Maryland, "with 90 persons doomed to stay seven years in his Majesty's American plantations." Two years later the same newspaper informed the public that "more than 100 seven-year passengers have arrived at Annapolis." Criminals were transported to the same colony as late at least as 1774.² The fact is enlightening. The propriety of receiving the foul harvest of the London prisons seems scarcely to have been questioned by the colonists. The slight progress made in the knowledge of social as well as economic laws should never be forgotten in trying to understand the origin and long toleration of British colonial policy.

¹ Weeden, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of New Eng.*, II., 520, 695.

² *Boston Gazette*, May 8, 1753, and July 10, 1755. Cf. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," in *Am. Hist. Review*, II., 29, 30.

CHAPTER VII

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

(1763-1775)

NOT a clause in the Declaration of Independence sets forth the real and underlying cause of the American Revolution. The attention of its writer was bent upon recent events, and he dwelt only upon the immediate reasons for throwing off allegiance to the British government. In the dark of the storm already upon them, the men of the time could hardly look with clear vision back to ultimate causes. They could not see that the English kings had planted the seeds of the Revolution when, in their zeal to get America colonized, they had granted such political and religious privileges as tempted the radicals and dissenters of the time to migrate to America. Only historical research could reveal the fact that from the year 1620 the English government had been systemati-

cally stocking the colonies with dissenters and retaining in England the conformers. The tendency of colonization was to leave the conservatives in England, thus relatively increasing the conservative force at home, while the radicals went to America to fortify the radical political philosophy there. Thus England lost part of her potentiality for political development.

Not only were radicals constantly settling in the colonies, because of the privileges granted them there, but the crown neglected to enforce in the colonies the same regulations that it enforced at home. The Act of Uniformity was not extended to the colonies, though rigidly enforced in England; the viceregal officers, the governors, permitted themselves again and again to be browbeaten and disobeyed by the colonial legislatures;¹ and even the king himself had allowed Massachusetts (1635) to overreach him by not giving up her charter.²

After a century of great laxity towards the colonies—a century in which the colonists were favored by political privileges shared by no other people of that age; after the environment had established new social conditions, and remoteness and isolation had created a local and individual hatred of restraint; after the absence of traditions had made possible the institution of representation by population, and self-government had taken on a

¹ Greene, *The Provincial Governor*, passim.

² Barry, *Hist. of Mass.*, I., 288–295.

new meaning in the world; after a great gulf had been fixed between the social, political, and economic institutions of the two parts of the British empire—only then did the British government enter upon a policy intended to make the empire a unity.¹

Independence had long existed in spirit in most of the essential matters of colonial life, and the British government had only to seek to establish its power over the colonies in order to arouse a desire for formal independence. The transition in England, therefore, to an imperial ideal, about the middle of the eighteenth century, doubtless caused the rending of the empire. Walpole and Newcastle, whose administrations had just preceded the reign of George III., had let the colonies alone, and thus aided the colonial at the expense of the imperial idea; while their successors, Grenville and Townshend, ruling not wisely but too well, forced the colonists to realize that they cared more for America than for England.

The time had come, though these ministers failed to see it, when the union of Great Britain with her colonies depended on the offspring's disposition towards the mother-country. Good feeling would preserve the union, but dissatisfaction would make even forcible control impossible. Social and political and economic ties still bound the colonists to the home land, but these were weak ties as compared

¹ For a detailed study of this subject, see Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution* (*American Nation*, VIII.).

with an irrepressible desire for self-growth. The expression of their political ideals unrestrained by the conservatism of the parent was a desired end to which they strove, almost unconscious of their object.

To understand the American Revolution, therefore, several facts must be clearly in mind—first, that Great Britain had for one hundred and fifty years been growing to the dignity of an empire, and that the thirteen colonies were a considerable part of that empire; second, the colonies had interests of their own which were not favored by the growing size and strength of the empire. They were advancing to new political ideals faster than the mother-country. Their economic interests were becoming differentiated from those of England. They were coming to have wants and ambitions and hopes of their own quite distinct from those of Great Britain.

At the fatal time when the independent spirit of America had grown assertive, the politically active part of the British people began unconsciously to favor an imperial policy, which their ministers suggested, and which to them seemed the very essence of sound reasoning and good government. They approved of the proposed creation of executives who should be independent of the dictation of the colonial assemblies. There were also to be new administrative organs having power to enforce the colonial trade regulations; and the defensive system of the colonies was to be improved by a force of reg-

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and middle colonies began manufacturing for themselves, their industry no sooner interfered with English manufactures than a law was passed to prevent the exportation of the production and to limit the industry itself. This system of restrictions, though it necessarily established a real opposition of interest between America and England, does not seem on the whole to have been to the disadvantage of the colonies;¹ nor was the English colonial system a whit more severe than that of other European countries.

In 1733, however, the Molasses Act went into effect,² and, had it been enforced, would have been a serious detriment to American interests. It not only aimed to stop the thriving colonial trade with the Dutch, French, and Spanish West Indies, but was intended to aid English planters in the British West Indies by laying a prohibitive duty on imported foreign sugar and molasses. It was not enforced, however, for the customs officials, by giving fraudulent clearances, acted in collusion with the colonial importers in evading the law; but, in 1761, during the war with France, the thrifty colonists carried on an illegal trade with the enemy, and Pitt demanded that the restrictive laws be enforced.

The difficulty of enforcing was great, for it was hard to seize the smuggled goods, and harder still to convict the smuggler in the colonial courts. Search-

¹ Beer, *Commercial Policy of England*, chap. vii.

² 6 George II., chap. xiii.

warrants were impracticable, because the legal manner of using them made the informer's name public, and the law was unable to protect him from the anger of a community fully in sympathy with the smugglers. The only feasible way to put down this unpatriotic trade with the enemy was to resort to "writs of assistance," which would give the customs officers a right to search for smuggled goods in any house they pleased.¹ Such warrants were legal, had been used in America, and were frequently used in England;² yet so highly developed was the American love of personal liberty that when James Otis, a Boston lawyer, resisted by an impassioned speech the issue of such writs his arguments met universal approval.³ In perfect good faith he argued, after the manner of the ancient law-writers, that Parliament could not legalize tyranny, ignoring the historical fact that since the revolution of 1688 an act of Parliament was the highest guarantee of right, and Parliament the sovereign and supreme power. Nevertheless, the popularity of Otis's argument showed what America believed, and pointed very plainly the path of wise statesmanship.

When, in 1763, the Pontiac Indian rebellion endangered the whole West and made necessary a force of soldiers in Canada, Grenville, in spite of the recent warning, determined that the colonies should

¹ Macdonald, *Select Charters*, 259.

² Lecky, *American Revolution* (Woodburn's ed.), 48.

³ J. Adams, *Works*, II., 523-525.

share the burden which was rapidly increasing in England. He lowered the sugar and molasses duties,¹ and set out to enforce their collection by every lawful means. The trouble which resulted developed more quickly in Massachusetts, because its harsh climate and sterile soil drove it to a carrying-trade, and the enforced navigation laws were thought to threaten its ruin. It was while American economic affairs were in this condition that Grenville rashly aggravated the discontent by the passage of his Stamp Act.

As the resistance of the colonies to this taxation led straight to open war and final independence, it will be worth while to look rather closely at the stamp tax, and at the subject of representation, which was at once linked with it. The terms of the Stamp Act are not of great importance, because, though it did have at least one bad feature as a law, the whole opposition was on the ground that there should be no taxation whatever without representation. It made no difference to its enemies that the money obtained by the sale of stamps was to stay in America to support the soldiers needed for colonial protection. Nothing would appease them while the taxing body contained no representatives of their own choosing.

To attain this right, they made their fight upon legal and historical grounds—the least favorable they could have chosen. They declared that, under

¹ 4 George III., chap. xv.

the British constitution, there could be no taxation except by persons known and voted for by the persons taxed. The wisest men seemed not to see the kernel of the dispute. A very real danger threatened the colonies—subject as they were to a body unsympathetic with the political and economic conditions in which they were living—but they had no legal safeguard.¹ They must either sever the existing constitutional bond or get Parliament of its own will to limit its power over the colonies. All unwittingly the opponents of the Stamp Act were struggling with a problem that could be solved only by revolution.

Two great fundamental questions were at issue: Should there be a British empire ruled by Parliament in all its parts, either in England or oversea? or should Parliament govern at home, and the colonial assemblies in America, with only a federal bond to unite them? Should the English understanding of representation be imposed upon the colonies? or should America's institution triumph in its own home? If there was to be a successful imperial system, Parliament must have the power to tax all parts of the empire. It was of no use to plead that Parliament had never taxed the colonies before, for, as Dr. Johnson wrote, "We do not put a calf into the plough: we wait till it is an ox."² The colonies were strong enough to stand taxation now, and the

¹ Osgood, in *Political Science Quarterly*, XIII., 45.

² Lecky, *American Revolution* (Woodburn's ed.), 64.

reasonable dispute must be as to the manner of it. To understand the widely different points of view of Englishmen and Americans, we must examine their systems of representative government.

In electing members to the House of Commons in England certain ancient counties and boroughs were entitled to representation, each sending two members, regardless of the number of people within its territory. For a century and a half before the American Revolution only four new members were added to the fixed number in Parliament. Meanwhile, great cities had grown up which had no representation, though certain boroughs, once very properly represented, had become uninhabited, and the lord who owned the ground elected the members to Parliament, taking them, not from the district represented, but from any part of the kingdom. The franchise was usually possessed either by the owners of the favored pieces of land or in the boroughs chiefly by persons who inherited certain rights which marked them as freemen. A man had as many votes as there were constituencies in which he possessed the qualifications.

In the colonial assemblies there was a more distinct territorial basis for representation, and changes of population brought changes of representation. New towns sent new members to the provincial assembly, and held the right to be of great value. All adult men—even negroes in New England—owning a certain small amount of property could

vote for these members. In the South only the landholders voted, but the supply of land was not limited, as in England, and it was easily acquired. Finally, the voter and the representative voted for must, as a rule, be residents of the same district. From the first the colonial political ideals were affected by new conditions. When they established representative government they had no historic places sanctified by tradition to be the sole breeding-places of members of Parliament.

Backed by such divergent traditions as these, the two parts of the British empire, or, more accurately, the dominant party in each section of the empire, faced each other upon a question of principle. Neither could believe in the honesty of the other, for each argued out of a different past. The opponents of the Stamp Act could not understand the political thinking which held them to be represented in the British Parliament. "No taxation without representation" meant for the colonist that taxes ought to be levied by a legislative body in which was seated a person known and voted for by the person taxed. An Englishman only asked that there be "no taxation except that voted by the House of Commons." He was not concerned with the mode of election to that house or the interests of the persons composing it. The colonist called the Stamp Act tyranny, but the British government certainly intended none, for it acted upon the theory of virtual representation, the only kind of representation en-

joyed by the great mass of Englishmen either at home or in the colonies. On that theory nothing was taxed except by the consent of the virtual representatives of those taxed. But, replied an American, in England the interests of electors and non-electors are the same. Security against any oppression of non-electors lies in the fact that it would be oppressive to electors also; but Americans have no such safeguard, for acts oppressive to them might be popular with English electors.¹

When the news of the Stamp Act first came over-sea there was apparent apathy. The day of enforcement was six months away, and there was nothing to oppose but a law. It was the fitting time for an agitator. Patrick Henry, a gay, unprosperous, and unknown country lawyer, had been carried into the Virginia House of Burgesses on the public approval of his impassioned denial, in the "Parson's Cause" (1763), of the king's right to veto a needed law passed by the colonial legislature. He now offered some resolutions against the stamp tax, denying the right of Parliament to legislate in the internal affairs of the colony.² This "alarum bell to the disaffected," and the fiery speech which secured its adoption by an irresolute assembly, were applauded everywhere. Jefferson said of Henry, that he "spoke as Homer wrote."

As soon as the names of the appointed stamp-dis-

¹ Dulany, in Tyler, *Lit. Hist. of Am. Rev.*, I., 104-105.
Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry, I., 84-80.

tributers were made known (August 1, 1765) the masses expressed their displeasure in a way unfortunately too common in America. Throughout the land there was rifling of stamp-collectors' houses, threatening their lives, burning their records and documents, and even their houses. Their offices were demolished and their resignations compelled—in one case under a hanging effigy, suggestive of the result of refusal. The more moderate patriots cancelled their orders with British merchants, agreed not to remit their English debts, and dressed in homespun to avoid wearing imported clothes.

On the morning that the act went into effect (November 1, 1765) bells tolled the death of the nation. Shops were shut, flags hung at half-mast, and newspapers appeared with a death's-head where the stamp should have been. Mobs burned the stamps, and none were to be had to legalize even the most solemn and important papers. The courts ignored them and the governors sanctioned their omission. None could be used, because none could be obtained. All America endorsed the declaration of rights of the Stamp-Act Congress, which met in New York, October, 1765. It asserted that the colonists had the same liberties as British subjects. Circumstances, they declared, prevented the colonists from being represented in the House of Commons, therefore no taxes could be levied except by their respective legislatures.¹

This great ado was a complete surprise to the

¹ Hart, *Contemporaries*, II., 402.

British government. On the passage of the Stamp Act, Walpole had written,¹ "There has been nothing of note in Parliament but one slight day on the American taxes." That expressed the common conception of its importance; and when the Grenville ministry fell (July, 1765), and was succeeded by that of Rockingham, the American situation had absolutely nothing to do with the change. The new ministry was some months in deciding its policy. The king was one of the first to realize the situation, which he declared "the most serious that ever came before Parliament" (December 5, 1765). Weak and unwilling to act as the new ministry was, the situation compelled attention. The king at first favored coercion of the rebellious colonies, but the English merchants, suffering from the suspended trade, urged Parliament to repeal the act. Their demand decided the ministry to favor retraction, just as formerly their influence had forced the navigation laws and the restrictions on colonial manufactures. If the king and landed gentry were responsible for the immediate causes of the Revolution, the influence of the English commercial classes on legislation was the more ultimate cause.

After one of the longest and most heated debates in the history of Parliament, under the advice of Benjamin Franklin, given at the bar of the House of Commons,² and with the powerful aid of Pitt and

¹ *Walpole's Letters*, February 12, 1765.

² Franklin, *Works* (Sparks's ed.), IV., 161-198.

Camden, the Stamp Act was repealed. Another act passed at the same time asserted Parliament's power to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.¹ Thus the firebrand was left smouldering amid the inflammable colonial affairs; and Burke was quick to point out that the right to tax, or any other right insisted upon after it ceased to harmonize with prudence and expediency, would lead to disaster.²

It is plain to-day that the only way to keep up the nominal union between Great Britain and her colonies was to let them alone. The colonies felt strongly the ties of blood, interest, and affection which bound them to England.³ They would all have vowed, after the repeal of the Stamp Act, that they loved their parent much more than they loved one another. They felt only the normal adult instinct to act independently. Could the British government have given up the imperial idea to which it so tenaciously clung, a federal union might have been preserved.

The genius of dissolution, however, gained control of the ministry which next came into power. When illness withdrew Pitt from the "Mosaic Ministry," which he and Grafton had formed, Townshend's brilliant talents gave him the unquestioned lead. This man, who is said to have surpassed Burke in wit and Chatham in solid sense, determined to try again to tax the colonies for imperial purposes.⁴ He

¹ 6 George III., chap. xii.

² Morley, *Burke*, 146.

³ Franklin, *Works* (Sparks's ed.), IV., 169.

⁴ Walpole, *Memoirs of George III.*, II., 275, III., 23-27.

ridiculed the distinction between external and internal tax; but since the colonists had put stress on the illegality of the latter he laid the new tax on imported articles, and prepared to collect at the custom-houses. The income was to pay the salaries of colonial governors and judges, and thus render them independent of the tyrannical and contentious assemblies. Writs of assistance, so effective in enforcing the revenue laws, but so hated by the colonists, were legalized. The collection of the revenue was further aided by admiralty courts, which should try the cases without juries, thus preventing local sympathy from shielding the violators of the law.¹

All the indifference into which America had relapsed, and which the agitators so much deplored, at once disappeared. The right of trial by jury was held to be inalienable. The control of the judiciary and executive by the people was necessary to free government, asserted the pamphleteers. Parliament could not legalize "writs of assistance," they rashly cried. The former stickling at an internal tax was forgotten, and they objected to any tax whatever—a more logical position, which John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, supported by the assertion "that any law, in so far as it creates expense, is in reality a tax." Samuel Adams drew up a circular letter, which the Massachusetts assembly despatched to the other

¹ 7 George III., chaps. xli., xlvi., lvi. See Macdonald, *Select Charters*, 320–330.

colonial assemblies, urging concerted action against this new attack on colonial liberties.¹ The British government, through the colonial governors, attempted to squelch this letter, but the Massachusetts assembly refused to rescind, and the other colonies were quick to embrace its cause.

Signs were not wanting that the people as well as the political leaders were aroused. When the customs officials, in 1768, seized John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, for alleged evasion of the customs duties, there was a riot which so frightened the officers that they fled to the fort and wrote to England for soldiers.

This and other acts of resistance to the government led Parliament to urge the king to exercise a right given him by an ancient act to cause persons charged with treason to be brought to England for trial. The Virginia assembly protested against this, and sent their protest to the other colonies for approval.² The governor dissolved the assembly, but it met and voted a non-importation agreement, which also met favor in the other colonies. This economic argument again proved effective, and the Townshend measures were repealed, except the tax on tea; Parliament thus doing everything but remove the offence—"fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans without service to their masters."³ The

¹ Samuel Adams, *Writings* (Cushing's ed.), I., 184.

² Hutchinson, *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*, III., 494.

³ Junius (ed. of 1799), II., 31.

old trade regulations also remained to vex the colonists.

In order that no disproportionate blame may be attached to the king or his ministry for the bringing on of the Revolution, it must be noted that the English nation, the Parliament, and the king were all agreed when the sugar and stamp acts were passed; and though Parliament mustered a good-sized minority against the Townshend acts, nevertheless no unaccustomed influence in its favor was used by the king. Thus the elements of the cloud were all gathered before the king's personality began to intensify the oncoming storm. The later acts of Parliament and the conduct of the king had the sole purpose of overcoming resistance to established government. Most of these coercive acts, though no part of the original policy, were perfectly constitutional even in times of peace. They must be considered in their historical setting, however, just as President Lincoln's extraordinary acts in a time of like national peril. Henceforth we are dealing with the natural, though perhaps ill-judged, efforts of a government to repress a rebellion.

After the riot which followed the seizure of the *Liberty* (June, 1768), two regiments of British soldiers were stationed in Boston. The very inadequacy of the force made its relations with the citizens strained, for they resented without fearing it. After enduring months of jeering and vilification, the soldiers at last (March 5, 1770) fired

upon a threatening mob, and four men were killed. Much was made of the "massacre," as it was called, because it symbolized for the people the substitution of military for civil government. A Boston jury acquitted the soldiers, and, after a town-meeting, the removal of the two regiments was secured.

A period of quiet followed until the assembly and the governor got into a debate over the theoretical rights of the colonists. To spread the results of this debate, Samuel Adams devised the "committees of correspondence,"¹ which kept the towns of Massachusetts informed of the controversy in Boston. This furnished a model for the colonial committees of correspondence, which became the most efficient means for revolutionary organization. They created public opinion, set war itself in motion, and were the embryos of new governments when the old were destroyed.

The first provincial committee that met with general response from the other colonies was appointed by Virginia, March 12, 1773, to keep its assembly informed of the "*Gaspee* Commission."² The *Gaspee* was a sort of revenue-cutter which, while too zealously enforcing the Navigation Acts, ran aground (June 9, 1772) in Narragansett Bay. Some Providence men seized and burned the vessel, and the British government appointed a commission to inquire into

¹ Collins, *Committees of Correspondence* (Amer. Hist. Assoc., Report, 1901), I., 247.

² *Va. Cal. of State Pap.*, VIII., 1-2.

the affair.¹ The commission met with universal opposition and had to report failure.

From this time on the chain of events that led to open rebellion consists of a series of links so plainly joined and so well known that they need only the barest mention in this brief introduction to the actual war. The British government tried to give temporary aid to the East India Company by remitting the heavy revenue on tea entering English ports, through which it must pass before being shipped to America, and by licensing the company itself to sell tea in America.² To avoid yielding the principle for which they had been contending, they retained at colonial ports the threepenny duty, which was all that remained of the Townshend revenue scheme. Ships loaded with this cheap tea came into the several American ports and were received with different marks of odium at different places. In Boston, after peaceful attempts to prevent the landing proved of no avail, an impromptu band of Indians threw the tea overboard, so that the next morning saw it lying like sea-weed on Dorchester beach.

This outrage, as it was viewed in England, caused a general demand for repressive measures, and the five "intolerable acts" were passed and sent oversea to do the last irremediable mischief.³ Boston's port

¹ *R. I. Col. Records*, VII., 81, 108.

² Farrand, "Taxation of Tea," in *Amer. Hist. Review*, III., 269.

³ Macdonald, *Select Charters*, 337-356; Force, *Am. Archives*, 4th series, I., 216.

was closed until the town should pay for the tea. Massachusetts' charter was annulled, its town-meetings irksomely restrained, and its government so changed that its executive officers would all be under the king's control. Two other acts provided for the care and judicial privileges of the soldiers who soon came to enforce the acts. Finally, great offence was given the Protestant colonies by granting religious freedom to the Catholics of Quebec, and the bounds of that colony were extended to the Ohio River,¹ thus arousing all the colonies claiming Western lands. Except in the case of Virginia, there was no real attack on their territorial integrity, but in the excitement there seemed to be.

Some strong incentive for the colonies to act together had long been the only thing needed to send the flame of rebellion along the whole sea-coast. When the British soldiers began the enforcement of the punishment meted to Boston, sympathy and fear furnished the common bond. After several proposals of an intercolonial congress, the step was actually taken on a call from oppressed Massachusetts (June 17, 1774).² Delegates from every colony except Georgia met in Philadelphia in September, 1774. Seven of the twelve delegations were chosen not by the regular assemblies, but by revolutionary conventions called by local committees; while in

¹ "Quebec Act and the American Revolution," in *Yale Review*, August, 1895.

² Force, *Am. Archives*, 4th series, I., 421.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, three of the remaining five states, the assemblies that sent the delegates were wholly dominated by the revolutionary element. Local committees may, therefore, be said to have created the congress, and they would now stand ready to enforce its will.

The assembled congress adopted a declaration of rights, but their great work was the forming an American association to enforce a non-importation and non-consumption agreement.¹ Local committees were to see that all who traded with England or refused to associate were held up as enemies of their country. The delegates provided for a new congress in the following May, and adjourned.

Meanwhile, General Gage and his "pretorian guard" in Boston were administering the government of Massachusetts with noteworthy results. A general court of the colony was summoned by Gage, who, repenting, tried to put it off; but it met, formed a provincial congress, and, settling down at Cambridge, governed the whole colony outside of Boston. It held the new royal government to be illegal, ordered the taxes paid to its own receiver instead of Gage's, and organized a militia. Gage at last determined to disarm the provincials. His raid to destroy the stores at Concord (April 19, 1775) resulted in an ignominious retreat and the loss of two hundred and seventy-three men, to say nothing of bringing sixteen thousand patriots swarming about Boston.

¹ Macdonald, *Select Charters*, 356, 362.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION

(1775-1787)

THE end of the war did not end America's trials. The next few years were crowded with perplexities; men that could think were anxious and troubled. Before the people who had broken away from Britain and had announced their own political beliefs could take full advantage of the opportunities lying at their door, the wreckage left by the war had to be cleared away; they had to find suitable political organization, overcome the disastrous influence of civil commotion, look the toil of the future fairly in the face, and begin seriously to practise the principles of self-government, which many were apt to forget were not far different from the principles of self-control.

The Revolution, if correctly understood, was much more than a separation from Great Britain; it was more even than the establishment of so-called free institutions as over against monarchical institutions. To understand the task of political and social organization, we must remember that the Revolution had been a civil war. No notion could be

more erroneous or lead us into greater difficulties in our endeavor to appreciate the trials that ensued after the war was over than the notion that the Revolution had been merely a contest between America and Great Britain, that it was a great popular uprising of a united people indignant and righteously angered at the prospect of tyranny. As a matter of fact, while a majority of the Americans sympathized with the so-called patriot cause, only a small minority were actively interested and ready really to sacrifice their material comfort for an ideal. A large number, almost equal to the enthusiastic patriots, were stanch loyalists, willing to do service for George III., to fight, if need be, in his armies, to give up their property and go into exile rather than surrender the name of Englishmen or prove traitors to their king. A third large group, fond of the good things of this world and not anxious about the success of either side, had shown a readiness to drink British Madeira at Philadelphia or New York, or to sell their produce for bright British guineas, while the American army, hungry and cold, ill-clad—if clad at all—were starving and shivering at Valley Forge or dying of small-pox at Morristown.

An interesting glimpse of this Revolutionary struggle is obtained from Washington's letter to Congress,¹ in which he speaks of Howe's success in Pennsylvania (1777). Washington had been moving

¹ Washington, *Writings* (Ford's ed.), VI., 80.

through a country in which it was difficult for the Americans to gain intelligence because the people were "to a man disaffected," while forced marches and rapid movements of the troops were impossible because a great number of the soldiers were without shoes. Washington, not Howe, was in the enemy's country. It was, therefore, from the distressing influences of civil strife that America had to free herself in the days of readjustment after the peace, when the troops were withdrawn, the Continental army was disbanded, and the people were left to look in upon themselves and wonder what manner of folk they were.

The loyalists were many—perhaps nearly, if not quite, a third of the population.¹ Many of them were, moreover, or had been when the war began, men of substance and of position. On the whole, they came from the conservative classes, who disliked rebellion for itself and because they had something to lose. Men that were looking for a chance to wipe out their old debts and had hopes of getting something ahead in the general overturning were not apt to be Tories. The people that were banished from Boston were members of the old families of the commonwealth.² Greene reported to Washington that two-thirds of the property in New York City

¹ Van Tyne, *Loyalists*, 94-105; Tyler, "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution," in *Amer. Hist. Review*, I., 27-29; Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, 182; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chap. xiv.

² Tyler, in *Amer. Hist. Review*, I., 31.

and its suburbs belonged to Tories,¹ and one is constrained to feel that in the confiscation by which loyalists' property was taken during the war there was a tinge of more than patriotic enthusiasm or even of partisan hostility; there was greed for the spoils of the enemy.

We must not understand from this that the Tories were all educated gentlemen and the Whigs miscreants and ruffians; but if we see aright the difficulty of the situation after the peace, we must at least appreciate the fact that in the war there had been a great social upheaval, that many of the wisest, ablest, and most substantial citizens had been driven into exile, and that no country could afford to lose the services of such men as moved away to England or passed over into Nova Scotia or settled in Canada to be the Pilgrim Fathers of the Dominion—no country, above all, that was forced to establish lasting political institutions and to undertake a great constructive task that might well have proved too heavy for the most efficient and the most creative nation in the world. This expulsion of tens of thousands of loyalists was well likened by a contemporary to the expatriation of the Huguenots on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.² From that expatriation France has not yet recovered. Could America easily get on without the one hundred thousand men, women, and

¹ Washington, *Writings* (Sparks's ed.), IV., 86, n.

² Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady* (ed. of 1846), 283.

children who were killed in the wars, died in prison, or suffered banishment because they had been faithful to the cause of King George? Could she prosper politically without the help of those disfranchised Tories that survived the trials of the war and remained to face the ill-will of their neighbors? To a country, then, which had known the agony of civil strife, which had been confiscating the property of its own citizens, which had seen thousands of its prosperous people impoverished or driven across the seas, came the duty of finding stable, trustworthy, and free institutions for a vast territory.

The political task that confronted the people when independence from Great Britain was declared was in its essence the same that had confronted the British ministry ten years before—the task of imperial organization. Britain had been able to find no principles that suited the colonists or that in the long run suited herself. The learned Mansfield or the faithful Grenville could do no more than assert the sovereignty of Parliament and declare that all power rested at Westminster. The Americans were not content with this simple declaration of law; they insisted on other rights, on an imperial order in which not all legislative power was gathered at the centre. When at length independence came, when the colonies were states, and especially when the war was over, what was America to do? Could the Americans, who had scolded England so roundly

for a freer expression of the individual. How could men at once realize that, if the circle was now complete, if they were now the government, there was no need to struggle against government? "It takes time," said Jay, "to make sovereigns of subjects."¹ But many there were besides who believed in individualism pure and simple, the right of the individual to do as he chooses. They did not care where government rested; they wished themselves and their neighbors let alone. All these influences were making, not for imperial organization, not for law and system, but for personal assertion, for confusion that might threaten the foundation of all reasonable order. If these influences were overcome, it must be because the wise and the strong succeeded in winning control.

During the war, it is true, the states had formed new state constitutions,² and it will not do to underestimate the importance of the fact that these fundamental laws were made, and that the people discovered and began to make use of the constituent convention—this, after all, is the most significant fact of the American Revolution. But in a measure the theories of the day were a real source of danger even to the states themselves, and the time might come when the men in the individual states would anxiously turn to national authority for relief. It was, moreover, much easier for the people to allow the

¹ Jay, *Corresp. and Public Papers*, III., 211.

² Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chap. ix.

lieved that a return to nature would be a return to happiness; and if, because of sinful man, government, an evil in itself, was necessary, it should be looked on with suspicion and guarded with jealous care. Such philosophy was of wide influence in that generation and the next. Even a man like Jefferson was ready to talk nonsense about fertilizing the tree of liberty with the blood of tyrants, and about the advisability of occasional rebellions, which ought not to be too much discouraged.¹ In the days when such thoughts were current, it was difficult to argue for efficient government and to point to the necessity of punishment and restraint.

The men of those days could not quite see that if the Revolutionary principles were made complete, if the popular institutions were established, if the people were to be the real rulers, there could be no antithesis between government and people, inasmuch as the people were the government, the possessors of the final political authority; what was called government was merely the servant of a power superior to itself. To limit this servant and to make it weak and ineffective was to limit the people. This fact was not comprehended; it took time for the full significance of the democratic idea to come home to men. And this was natural in the light of the long struggle for liberty; it was natural, if it is true that the Revolution was but one of the great movements in English history for a freer life and

¹ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford's ed.), IV., 362.

for a freer expression of the individual. How could men at once realize that, if the circle was now complete, if they were now the government, there was no need to struggle against government? "It takes time," said Jay, "to make sovereigns of subjects."¹ But many there were besides who believed in individualism pure and simple, the right of the individual to do as he chooses. They did not care where government rested; they wished themselves and their neighbors let alone. All these influences were making, not for imperial organization, not for law and system, but for personal assertion, for confusion that might threaten the foundation of all reasonable order. If these influences were overcome, it must be because the wise and the strong succeeded in winning control.

During the war, it is true, the states had formed new state constitutions,² and it will not do to underestimate the importance of the fact that these fundamental laws were made, and that the people discovered and began to make use of the constituent convention—this, after all, is the most significant fact of the American Revolution. But in a measure the theories of the day were a real source of danger even to the states themselves, and the time might come when the men in the individual states would anxiously turn to national authority for relief. It was, moreover, much easier for the people to allow the

¹ Jay, *Corresp. and Public Papers*, III., 211.

² Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chap. ix.

state governments to wield power than to grant any to the nation. The local authority was near at hand, and in its new dignity was not very different from the old colonial administration. The war had been begun against a general government; why should implicit obedience be paid to the Congress of the United States, clamoring for power and for taxes as George III. and Lord North had never dared to do?

So far we have seen several different circumstances that must be taken into consideration in interpreting the task of the American people in the years of national readjustment: the harassing and demoralizing experiences of a war which was at once a civil war and a revolution; the banishment and voluntary emigration of thousands of its most intelligent and substantial citizens; the political thinking of the time, which the course of the war had intensified—thinking that, if allowed to ferment in shallow-pated citizens, might endanger the stability of society itself; and, lastly, the fact that the war had been waged to support local governments against a general government. Amid all of these difficulties America was imperatively called upon to organize its empire, if we may use the word to convey the meaning of the vast territory stretching from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's and westward to the Mississippi—an empire inhabited by thirteen distinct groups of people in large measure ignorant of the lives and thoughts of one another.

In solving this problem the United States was at once aided and hindered by its geographical make-up and its history. Geographically separated from Europe by thousands of miles of space and many weeks of time, the Americans felt isolated from the rest of the world, and must perforce have been impressed with the thought of a common destiny; but separated as the states were from one another, when the people were thinking of themselves and not of Europe, they must have felt their differences more keenly than their similarities. South Carolina was so remote from Virginia that we might almost think of her as belonging to the West-Indian group of colonies rather than to the continental. The Declaration of Independence was known in Paris almost as soon as in Charleston. The hardy Yankee seamen who buffeted the winds off stormy Hatteras must have felt far from home when they sailed into the harbor of Wilmington or Savannah. A Georgian knew little of New York or Massachusetts. Life on the plantations of Virginia was far different from life in the little settlements of New England. When John Adams, leaving his fireside in Braintree, went to Philadelphia as a delegate in Congress, the letters which he sent home were welcomed as tidings from a "far country." "Of affairs of Georg[i]a," wrote Madison to Jefferson in 1786, "I know as little as of those of Kamskatska."¹ When we add to all this the

¹ Madison, *Writings* (Hunt's ed.), II., 261.

fact that the colonies were established at different times and from different motives, and that climate, soil, and industrial life varied greatly from Maine to Georgia, we are so impressed by the diversity that union seems almost beyond the verge of possibility. And yet political unity was a necessity; any form of political order not expressing the fact of real interdependence and essential oneness of purpose was insufficient if America was to organize her empire.

Without modern means of communication, without railroads or telegraphs, the states were also without good highways of any kind. The road between Boston and New York was not very bad, but in the most favorable weather the traveller making the trip must spend four days in a clumsy, uncomfortable coach, giving up more time and much more comfort than he would now expend in passing across the continent.¹ The highways of Pennsylvania were often almost impassable, and travel on them was little less than misery.² South of the Potomac the roads were still worse; there even bridges were a luxury. Even on the much-travelled route between the north and the south the mails were infrequent. Three times a week throughout the summer they passed between Portland, Maine, and Suffolk, Virginia, but from Suf-

¹ Brissot de Warville, *Travels in America*, I., 97; Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 37.

² "Letters of Phineas Bond," in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report*, 1896, p. 522; *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, X., 129.

folk southward only twice a week in the summer and once a week in winter. Inhabitants of towns out of the main course of travel were more isolated than are now secluded hamlets in the heart of the Rockies. Into the great west beyond the Appalachian range a few courageous men had gone and established their homes; but this vast region was a wild and almost trackless forest. A man in the little village of Louisville was often ignorant for months at a time of what was going on at New York or Boston, knowing no more of the internal affairs of the sea-coast towns than "what our friends are about in the other world."¹

To such a people, then, thus distracted and thus divided, came the problem of imperial organization. One fact aided them materially: the states were alike in structure; they had the same political inheritance; the fundamental ideas of English liberty and law, taking root in congenial soil, had grown strong in every section; men in all the states thought in the same terms and used the same phrases. Even their Revolutionary philosophy with its notion of absolute rights was a product of English history. Moreover, events, relentless facts, were showing the way to sound union; there could be no real peace and prosperity till political organization was in harmony with industrial and social needs. If the people were reluctant, union on a proper basis was to be established by "grinding necessity."

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 1878, p. 233.

The important process of making state constitutions was pretty well completed four years after the Declaration of Independence, but the formation of a national system was not so simple. For some years after the Declaration the affairs of the Union were conducted by a Congress of delegates on whose discretion or authority there were no constitutional restraints; hence Congress did, not what was needed to be done, but what it was able to do or thought it wise to attempt, at times showing energy and intelligence, again sinking into sloth and incompetence. During these years America was acting under an unwritten constitution, and, in spite of the inability of Congress, establishing precedents of some weight and importance.

On March 1, 1781, Maryland, the last of the thirteen states, signed by its delegates the Articles of Confederation, and henceforward the powers of Congress were clearly outlined.¹ The first form of imperial organization was that of a "perpetual Union," a "league of friendship" between states. To care for the interests of the Confederation, a Congress was provided, to be made up of delegates annually chosen in the states. Each delegation was entitled to one vote; Rhode Island had as much influence in the affairs of America as Massachusetts or Virginia. Congress had authority to decide on peace and war, to carry on hostilities, to manage

¹ For the process of forming the Articles of Confederation, see Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chap. xi.

all diplomatic matters, to build and equip a navy, to borrow money and emit bills of credit, to make requisitions on the states for men and money, to appoint naval officers and superior military officers, to establish and regulate post-offices, to determine the alloy and value of coin, and to perform some other duties supposed to be of general interest. This was a generous allotment of authority, but its exercise was carefully guarded, since no vote, except to adjourn from day to day, could be carried except by a majority of all the states, while the consent of nine states was required to carry any measure of special importance. Unless nine states agreed, Congress could not engage in war or enter into treaties or alliances, or coin money or borrow money, or make appropriations, or appoint a commander-in-chief, or, indeed, even determine on the sums of money for which it would ask the states.

The better to secure mutual friendship and intercourse, it was especially provided that the free inhabitants of each state should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states. Sundry restraints were placed upon the states; they were not to enter into treaties, confederations or alliances, interfere in foreign affairs, or engage in war without the consent of Congress, unless actually invaded. These and similar prohibitions marked with some clearness the line of demarcation between the reserved power of the states and the authority granted to Congress. Congress was the

final resort on appeal in all disputes between the states, its authority to be exercised by the establishment of a special court or board of arbitration whose decision was decisive of the question at issue. The Articles were in many ways dissimilar to the state constitutions; in fact, there is no evidence that their framers intended to follow the examples of the states. There was no effort to establish a government with distinct branches; all the authority granted was in the hands of Congress, which was, however, authorized to appoint an executive committee to sit when Congress itself was not in session.

This simple arrangement, a confederation of sovereign states, performing certain functions through a body of delegates, proved in the course of a short time so inadequate that it is easy to pass these Articles by with an amused smile at their utter unfitness for the work at hand. As a matter of fact, they were in many respects models of what articles of confederation ought to be, an advance on previous instruments of like kind in the world's history. Their inadequacy arose from the fact that a mere confederacy of sovereign states was not adapted to the social, political, and industrial needs of the time.

In one important particular the Articles were of profound significance: with remarkable care they separated the particular or local powers from those of general character; and let us notice that on the wisdom and the accuracy with which this division is made must depend the permanence of any plan of

imperial organization. Under no conditions, of course, would the states surrender all political authority to any central government; but by the Articles of Confederation they granted nearly every power that was really of a general or national character. Two powers that the central authority much needed were withheld: the power to raise money and the power to regulate commerce—the very ones about which there had been so much discussion before the war. “Let the king ask for money,” the colonists had said to Parliament, “and we will pay it.” This plan of imperial organization was to prove a very lame one when applied on this side of the Atlantic; Congress was to try this plan, to call for money, plead for it, implore attention, and remain penniless. But few years were needed to show the necessity for general control of commerce if the Confederation were to be more than a name, or if the states were not to change from rivals into open enemies. In spite of all this, as far as the mere division of powers was concerned, the Articles were not far from perfection, and in any plan for a broader and better system this allotment of authority would be of the utmost service.

Of course the Congress of the Confederation, made up of delegates from states, could not pass effective laws or enforce its orders. It could ask for money but not compel payment; it could enter into treaties but not enforce their stipulations; it could provide for raising of armies but not fill the ranks; it could bor-

row money but take no proper measures for repayment; it could advise and recommend but not command. In other words, with some of the outward seemings of a government, and with many of its responsibilities, it was not a government.

The Articles, as we have seen, provided for no executive department. They did provide for the appointment of a member of Congress to preside over its sessions; but in fear of kingly authority, it was stipulated that no one person should serve as president more than one year in any term of three years. They also provided for the appointment of civil officers for managing the general affairs of the United States under the direction of Congress. And yet the course of the war had already proved how unfit for general administrative duties were the whole body of delegates or committees of members,¹ and as a result a movement for the establishment of executive departments began even before the Articles went into effect.

The office of postmaster-general, an inheritance from the colonial days, existed from the beginning of the war. In the early part of 1781 the offices of secretary for foreign affairs, superintendent of finance, secretary at war, and secretary of marine were created.² To the second position Robert Morris,

¹ Guggenheimer, "The Development of the Executive Departments, 1775-1789," in Jameson, *Essays in the Const. Hist. of the U. S.*

² *Journals of Congress*, January 10 and February 7, 1781.

of Pennsylvania, whose knowledge of business and finance had already been of great service to the country, was appointed. After considerable delay, caused by the customary factional controversies between the cliques of Congress, General Benjamin Lincoln was made secretary at war. He did not take the office until January, 1782. Nothing of consequence was done with the department of marine, probably because of the old difficulty of selecting anybody that would suit the wrangling factions, and the whole department was turned over to the superintendent of finance, who already had more than any one could do in managing the distracted finances of the Confederation. Robert R. Livingston, of New York, was made foreign secretary, but retained his position only till June, 1783. He was succeeded the next year by John Jay, who showed skill in handling the intricate diplomatic questions of the time, and perhaps even more wisdom in impressing on Congress the importance of his position. By insisting on the dignity of his office and by making use of its privileges, he brought it into prominence and helped to give it a real value and significance.¹ Inadequate as the Articles were, constitutional organs were gradually growing. Administrative failures and experiments were showing the way to a more effective and satisfactory system.

¹ Jameson, *Essays in the Const. Hist. of the U. S.*, 161-165.

[EDITORIAL NOTE

In a volume dealing with social and economic aspects it is necessary to refer the reader to Professor McLaughlin's *The Confederation and the Constitution* for an account of "The Critical Period"—so called by Fiske (1783-1789), which included organization, the government of the Confederation; the Constitutional convention, and ratification. Professor McLaughlin's account of Imperial Organization which has been quoted here shows "the possibilities of national government in view of the character and political aptitude of the people." After developing his history of the steps leading to the Constitutional convention and the adoption of the Constitution he closes his book with the following summary:]

ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

In the twelve years that followed the Declaration of Independence the American people had accomplished much. The war was carried to a successful conclusion; the settlements stretching along the Atlantic coast came into the possession of a wide territory extending over the mountains to the Mississippi; state constitutions, laying down broad principles of liberty and justice, were formed on lines of permanence; a new colonial system for the organization and government of the great west was formulated, a system that was to be of incalculable value in the process of occupying the continent and building up a mighty republic; new

settlements that showed capacity for self-government and growth were made in the wilderness beyond the Alleghenies. And, finally, a federal Constitution was formed, having for its purpose the preservation of local rights, the establishment of national authority, the reconciliation of the particular interests and the general welfare. In solving the problem of imperial organization, America made a momentous contribution to the political knowledge of mankind.

With the adoption of the national Constitution the first period of the Constitutional history of the United States was closed. A suitable and appropriate national organization was now established. There remained questions to be answered by the coming decades: Was the system suited to the needs of an expanding people? Was the distribution of authority between the national government and the states so nicely adjusted that the complicated political mechanism would stand the strain of local interest and national growth? Would the people who had founded a national government grow so strongly in national spirit and patriotism that there would be a real bond of affection and of mutual good-will, supplementing and strengthening the formal ties of the law?

CHAPTER IX

THE STATE OF SOCIETY

(1789-1800)

THE independence of the United States caused the severance of many European bonds, and this reacted on American life. Government officials, ministers of religion, lawyers, physicians, managers of English investments in the colonies, and many other classes of leading men in colonial life had been largely drawn from England; and this influx now ceased, except for a number of influential English and Irish journalists. America was thrown more than ever before on itself for leaders and for ideals. There resulted an intensifying of distinctively American traits and a corresponding loss of cosmopolitanism.¹

Three other notable influences ought to be mentioned. (1) Democracy had received a wonderful impetus. The influence of the "well born" was lessened and that of the "filthy democrats" was increased. Political life thus became cruder and more

¹ A variety of illustrative material on the conditions of the time may be found in Hart, *Am. Hist. told by Contemporaries*, III., §§ 10-36.

passionate, while inequalities began to disappear and the educative function of self-government was stimulated. (2) Our dependence on English constitutional liberty was modified. In the struggles of the colonists against their governors, and in the revolutionary debates as well, the appeal had always been to the chartered rights of Englishmen. Now the rights of man became the ideal, and precedent played a smaller rôle in public discussions. Americans were full of a notion that they were intrusted with ideals different from, and better than, those of other nations. They believed themselves pioneers in political philosophy. (3) American private law began to separate itself from English statute and precedent. The common law continued to be observed; but a body of American statutes and decisions could not but give the content of the law a strong tendency towards those distinctive forms which at the end of a century are easily recognized as American products.

Confidence in the future of his country was a supreme trait of an American in 1789. To immense physical resources there was added in his mind great human capacity to develop them. To utilize fertile lands, to build up manufactures, to construct means of transportation, to develop the organization of commerce, and to take care of public and private credit seemed to him the things first needed in our social progress. Next to these he placed what he would have called the ornaments of life—education,

religion, art, literature, science, municipal comforts, and many other things which have become important in modern society. To the former group of forces, therefore, the men who saw Washington and Adams in the presidency, gave most of their attention. It was a day of material development.

In 1790, when the first census was taken, the population was 3,929,214, and in 1800 it was 5,308,483. About one-fifth of each number were negroes, and about half of the total was found on either side of the Potomac. The increase of population in this first census period was due chiefly to births: for immigration had been cut off by the Revolution, and although many efforts were made to attract it again with the return of peace, the estimated annual immigration was not more than four thousand persons, and it was not considerable till after the War of 1812. The outbreak of general war in Europe in 1793 was enough to account for this state of affairs.¹

About ninety-five per cent. of the inhabitants lived in villages or the open country. The Atlantic coast region was one vast stretch of forests and farms. On the river-banks near the coast, and in the south in particular, much of the land had been cleared for cultivation; in the interior the cleared patches were smaller. Everywhere the inhabitants were looking for the best lands—for river "low-ground" for the great farmers, creek "low-ground" for the medium

¹ Blodget, *Economica* (ed. of 1806), 75.

farmers, and the meadows which lay between the upland hills for the small farmers.

The land which it did not pay to clear was left to the dominion of the forest. In the broad flat plains of Virginia and the Carolinas, where rivers and their tributaries are less abundant than in the narrow plain of the north, the forest had been but slightly subdued. Great stretches of pine land frowned on the traveller, where the cultivation of cotton was destined soon to work many changes. Through these great forests the roads were few and badly constructed. The people who lived in the clearings along them were too poor to build good roads, and the infrequent trips they made to the world beyond them did not justify the necessary outlay. Their lives were isolated, natural, and free. They were poorly educated, ignorant of the problems of the world, and fiercely democratic. These people far outnumbered the wealthy farmers along the rivers. They were the backbone of the democracy of the country.

The great planters of the south dominated the communities in which they lived; they were most numerous along the coasts where the lands were richest. They were people of education, and their ideals were broader than those of the men of the interior. Many of them were Republicans on philosophical grounds and because they favored France; but the majority were Federalists. All of them, whatever their politics, were aristocrats in their social ideals.

In the middle states the medium class and small farmers constituted the mass of the population. They were less isolated than the dwellers in the interior parts of the south, for the forest had yielded more of itself to the aggression of the settler. Distances from the large seaports were not so great, and roads were tolerable. Education was somewhat more advanced, churches were more numerous, ideals were less provincial.

In New England the forest had disappeared to a much larger extent, chiefly because of the lumber and ship-building industries. Villages were grouped along the edges of the bays, sounds, and various small streams; and around them lay the little farms upon which, with much labor, the food of the community was raised. The country was thickly settled compared with other sections, roads were better, houses were more attractively built, and the educational spirit was more generally developed than anywhere else in the country.

Towns were placed chiefly on the sea-coast and at the heads of navigation of the rivers. Commerce was their only support; for the days of the manufacturing towns had not yet come. The larger places attracted the foreign commerce. The smaller towns looked to the larger ones, sending thither the products which they had gathered from the surrounding communities and distributing the imported goods which they received from the seaports.

Most of the towns were north of the Potomac.

In 1790 Richmond, the largest town in Virginia, numbered 3761; and Norfolk, Petersburg, and Alexandria were the only other towns in the state with a population of two thousand or more. In North Carolina not a town of that size existed. In South Carolina, Charleston had a population of about fifteen thousand, and was the centre of a large trade in rice and slaves. It was a residence town for most of the wealthy eastern planters, and because of this and its large commercial interests it was strongly Federal. Savannah was still a small place. The interior of Georgia was undeveloped, but with the cultivation of cotton came a great impulse to progress, which soon gave the state's best seaport a flourishing trade.

The northern cities in 1790 were led by Philadelphia with a population of forty-two thousand. It was a wealthy centre of business, and drew its sustenance from the rich farming region of central and eastern Pennsylvania. The great demand for American grain while the European nations were struggling in war gave a remarkable stimulus to the commerce of Philadelphia. The fact that it was the home of the United States Bank made it a financial centre; and all combined to give it a rapid growth, so that in 1800 its population was seventy thousand. New York, next in size, rose from thirty-two thousand in 1790 to sixty thousand in 1800. This rapid progress indicates the state of development in the interior of New York state.

For a long time this region was held back from the grasp of the settler through an unwillingness to dispossess the Iroquois; but that difficulty was now overcome. Great land companies acquired the central parts of the state, immigrants were turning thither, and their wants were supplied by the city, finely placed at the mouth of the Hudson. Boston, long one of the most remarkable of colonial cities, showed signs of lagging. Its population increased from eighteen thousand in 1790 to twenty-five thousand in 1800.. This is accounted for partly because of the restrictions brought about by the Revolution, and partly because it had no such monopoly of trade in its neighborhood as Philadelphia and New York. Its opportunity came when it became the fiscal centre of New England manufacturing; but the day for that had not yet arrived. One of the remarkable features of town development in the period was the growth of Baltimore. Long a sleepy colonial community, it had suddenly awakened to great activity. Its population in 1790 was thirteen thousand; and in 1800, through the development of the Susquehannah Valley, it had reached twenty-six thousand five hundred. In size and in trade it then surpassed Boston.

The largest state of all was Virginia, with a population in 1790 of 747,000. After her came Pennsylvania with 434,000, North Carolina with 393,000, Massachusetts with 378,000, and New York with 340,000. Virginia's preponderating size had very

much to do with her large influence in the Revolution and in the struggle for the adoption of the Constitution; she lacked only eighty thousand of having, in 1790, as many inhabitants as all the New England states which joined in the adoption of the Constitution. The financial policy of Hamilton combined the commercial states in behalf of their own interests. Virginia was left out of this movement, and it bore hard on her spirit to see the sceptre of power taken from her hand. Placed in opposition, she became the leader of a combination of agricultural states which at length managed to get control of the government and to rule it for many years with as little regard for the interests of commerce as their opponents had felt with regard to agriculture.

The transportation of heavy articles was confined chiefly to water-routes. At the head of navigation on each river a small town would be found, whence roads ran into the interior. A few of them stretched away to and beyond the Alleghanies into the western wilderness. The advantages of water-transportation turned the attention of the men of progress to building canals, of which few were fairly begun by the end of the century.

Travellers usually went by stage-coach. Where the country was thickly settled they might travel as rapidly as in the rural sections of Europe. From Bangor to Baltimore they could make four miles an hour. South of the latter point the roads were

bad and conveyances were uncertain. The coaches were merely large wagons, with high sides and canopies supported by upright beams. If rain fell, heavy curtains of leather were hung up, much to the discomfort of the occupants who must steam within the coach till the rain ceased.

From a day's jolting in such a vehicle one came at length to an inn. If he were fastidious enough to ask for a room to himself he was received with astonishment. He soon learned to consider himself fortunate if he had a bed to himself. Many of the inns had large rooms with from six to ten beds in them. European travellers generally complained loudly of the fare at the inns, where fried bacon and corn-bread were served daily.¹ These conditions have survived till the present in the most isolated portions of the country. At long intervals good inns were encountered, and most of them were in New England, but in the larger towns accommodations were better. Here the tavern was giving way to the modern hotel, modelled after European establishments. Travellers from abroad found them convenient and comfortable, and to the Americans they seemed splendid.

The manner of life was hearty and natural. People of means lived in comfortable houses; poor people occupied the rude structures which had characterized frontier life in the seventeenth century. The plant-

¹ Brissot de Warville, *Travels* (ed. of 1792), 123; cf. McMaster, *United States*, II., 562-564; Weld, *Travels* (London ed.), 35, 84.

ers of the south sought to reproduce the life of English country gentlemen, and the wealthy merchants of the north imitated the manners they had seen or heard about in London and Paris. The old colonial usages were preserved by those who had the means; but the sudden accumulation of wealth in the towns brought many new families into prominence, and manners were a little less formal.

In New England, Puritan morals ruled social intercourse. Life was regular and recreation was simple. Sleighing, riding, dancing, shooting at a mark, draughts, and such innocent amusements were considered proper. The boys played football, quoits, and cricket, and everybody skated in season. The theatre was not allowed in Boston till 1793.

In the south, amusements were more unrestrained. Horse-racing had long been a favorite sport and cock-fighting was general. It was at this time that the famous stud "Diomed" was imported into Virginia; his offspring became famous on many a track in that and adjoining states. One of them was Andrew Jackson's famous "Truxton," long the king of the Tennessee turf. To own a champion race-horse was to give a man as much renown in his community as to win the Derby in England. Charleston was a famous centre for horse-racing. Its "Jockey Club" was a leading social organization. The habit of living away from their plantations brought many wealthy and refined people to the town. Nowhere else in the south was there so much wealth and good breeding.

The most universal phase of thought at this period was religion. In New England and among the masses of the middle and southern states it was the supreme authority in conduct; but many of the planters of the south and some of the more intelligent classes elsewhere had accepted the ideas of French scepticism. In the villages of New England the Congregational minister was still the most influential person. He ruled the conduct of the town, censored its manners, and did not hesitate to interfere in its politics. Thomas Jefferson, whom the orthodox freely denounced as an infidel, had much reason to complain of the political activity of the New England ministry. Unitarianism, however, was beginning to undermine its domination, and the trend of society towards wealthy classes was working for the progress of the Episcopal church.

In the south the latter church, on the contrary, was losing ground; it was disliked because it had been the established church in several colonies, because many of its ministers had proved themselves Tories in the Revolution, and because it was in close alliance with the aristocracy. It had but recently reorganized itself on an American basis, it had lost much from the defection of the planters to scepticism, and it was in severe straits in many southern communities. Other churches in the south were striving to adapt themselves to new conditions and to recover from the disorganization which followed the war.

At this favorable juncture there appeared in the

country a new church which was destined to have a powerful influence on religion there. The followers of Wesley had hardly got a foothold in the United States before the Revolution interrupted their progress. But in 1784 they organized a separate American body with authority from their founder. They appealed to the vast middle class of people; they caught the wasting fragments of other bodies; they gave a democratic fire to their preaching; they endured all manner of hardship in order to penetrate the vast upland forest region of the south and west; and thus they laid the foundations of a great movement which has exerted a powerful influence on the life of America. This success was largely due to the activity of Bishop Francis Asbury, a man whose perseverance, zeal, and devotion have suggested a comparison with another Francis who carried light to the dark places of the earth during the Middle Ages.¹

The period from 1789 to 1801 was not characterized by intellectual progress. Education made little advance, and literature was all but dead. The after-effects of war and the tendency for all energies to run into physical recuperation were the chief causes. In 1800 the Harvard faculty consisted of the president, three professors, and four tutors. In 1797, Bishop Madison, whose vacant parishes had caused him to suspend his episcopal functions and become president of William and Mary College, was teaching a

¹ See Asbury, *Journal*, passim.

group of barefooted boys.¹ In literature the group known as "the Hartford Wits" were most distinguished. Perhaps the best poetry of the day was Freneau's.

The most significant social movement of the period was the extension of the frontier beyond the mountains, which began before the Revolution, but after 1789 it proceeded rapidly. In 1790 the total population of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the northwest was 109,000; in 1800 it was 377,000. Two roads led settlers from the east thither—one through western Pennsylvania by wagon to Pittsburg and thence by flat-boat down the Ohio, the other by wagon-road through southwestern Virginia to the Holston Valley and thence down the Tennessee River.

The Ohio was already bordered with towns. From Pittsburg floating westward one came to Wheeling, Marietta, Belpré, Gallipolis, Limestone, Columbia, Newport, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Farther down on the Mississippi were New Madrid and Natchez. Louisville had once been important because Fort Jefferson, which was placed here, afforded protection against the Indians; but the march of settlement had removed all danger from that source, and the chief significance of the place arose from the fact that it was placed at the rapids of the Ohio. Cincinnati, on the north side of the river, looked out into hostile territory, till Wayne's victory in 1794 removed that

¹ Adams, *United States*, I., 77, 136.

danger. In 1795 came the treaty with Spain, by which the navigation of the Mississippi was secured. Nothing now stood in the way of the dreams of the westerners. Whatever might trouble the east, they had the simple task of developing the vast country which was opened to them. The confidence and tumultuous joy with which they proceeded marked the future character of the people. Never did American frontier shift more quickly and happily into civilized communities than in the rich plains on each side of the Ohio. The creation of three states and three territories between 1789 and 1800 marked the future lines of national development. In 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union, and in 1792, Kentucky. In 1796, Tennessee knocked at the door, but the moment was inopportune for her ambition. A close presidential election was about to be decided, and it was pretty certain that she would vote with the Republicans. The Federalists, therefore, challenged her right to become a state. For several weeks they kept her outside, but on the last day of the session they relented and she was admitted. In 1798 the region between Tennessee and Florida was set apart as a territory. The lower part of it was still claimed by Georgia, but negotiations were about to be begun by which that matter was adjusted in 1802; and in 1800 a second act of Congress created a legislature and otherwise completed the government of Mississippi territory.¹ In 1800 the old Northwest Terri-

¹ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, II., 69; Riley, *Mississippi*, 94, 97.

tory was divided preparatory to the admission of Ohio, and the immense western portion was called Indiana.¹

¹On the later history of the west, see Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, chap. vii.; Babcock, *Am. Nationality*, chap xv.; Turner, *New West*, passim, (*Am. Nation*, XII., XIII., XIV.).

CHAPTER X

THE RESULTS OF WAR

(1815)

WHEN measured by any standard of material or immediate advantage, the results of the War of 1812 were all negative. For two years and a half the United States had waged war upon land and upon sea, yet had not added a square mile of territory nor a ton to her commerce; she had not settled one dispute as to boundaries nor obtained definite recognition for a single right for which she had contended. On the other hand, the losses of men, money, and property were positive and distinct, while the derangement of the finances was not outgrown for some years. But however great the material losses, they were temporary and soon forgotten. The immaterial or spiritual results upon the nation and national policy were not so immediately obvious, but in reality they were second only to those of the Revolution: the first war segregated the materials for an independent nation; the second gave them new form and effective unity.

The cost of the war in men, as wars go, was moderate. The population of the country was about eight and a quarter millions, yet the effectives in

the army never exceeded thirty thousand, and the number actually engaged in any one battle never reached four thousand. The number killed in battle was estimated to be about fifteen hundred, the total of killed and wounded in land battles not far from five thousand, and the grand total of losses, including prisoners, nine thousand seven hundred.¹ The most liberal estimate of the loss of men, in battle on sea and land, in camp, in hospital, and in prisons, places it at thirty thousand. In other words, the loss of men could not have exceeded two per cent. of the military population, a loss which seems almost insignificant when compared with South Carolina's sacrifice of twenty-five per cent. of her military population during the Civil War.

In terms of money, the cost of the war was about two hundred million dollars, which cannot be considered exceedingly burdensome. The issue of bonds and treasury notes had added over eighty millions to the previous debt, which thus rose to one hundred and twenty-seven millions, or about fifteen dollars a head for the population, as against about twenty dollars a head in 1791.² Had the currency been in good order and taxation equalized, no one would have complained of the burden of the federal debt.

The people felt the war most severely in the high prices of such commodities as groceries and iron, and in the low prices of the staple products like

¹ *Niles' Register*, X., 154.

² Dallas, Report, in *Am. State Paps., Finance*, VIII., 8.

wheat, flour, tobacco, and cotton, for which there was little or no market while the war lasted. The extent of these difficulties was illustrated by the sudden reversal of conditions after peace was proclaimed, when the price of sugar was cut in two and the price of flour rose fifty per cent.¹ The figures of the export trade of the country told the same story: 1811, forty-five million dollars; 1813, twenty-five million dollars; 1814, seven million dollars. New England suffered least, because the British in the early stages of the war refrained from harassing that section, and because the New-Englanders defied the laws of the United States by trading with the armies of the enemy on the Canadian frontier and in Maine, and by taking advantage of British permits for trading at sea. Yet Boston's trade in foreign products, first imported, and then exported to Europe, fell from nearly six million dollars in 1811, to slightly more than three hundred thousand dollars in 1813. Virginia, on the other hand, suffered most from lack of market for her flour and for her tobacco, which, Jefferson declared, "is not worth the pipe it is smoked in." Coasting-trade was practically suspended and land transportation so difficult that flour, in August, 1813, was worth \$4.50 a barrel in Richmond and \$11.87 in Boston.²

¹ Adams, *United States*, IX., 61.

² Jefferson, *Works* (Washington's ed.), VI., 398; *Niles' Register*, V., 41, gives a very valuable table of prices current, showing prices in cities from Boston to New Orleans.

Considering the extent of the American seaboard and the lack of provision for defence, it is rather surprising that the United States escaped with so little damage to her coasts and cities. Washington was the only city of importance that suffered severely, while the shores of Chesapeake Bay and of Georgia, and the Niagara frontier, were the only regions plundered. The commercial and shipping interests were hardly in a different situation after the war began from that in which they had been for the greater part of the preceding five years. Their losses probably were no greater by capture in war than they had been by French sequestration and English prize courts. At the Boston docks in September, 1813, two hundred and forty-nine sea-going vessels were lying idle, ninety-one being of the largest class. When the war was ended, one hundred and forty-four vessels sailed from Boston within a month, while the entries into Charleston, South Carolina, in three weeks of April, 1815, showed one hundred and fifty-eight vessels exclusive of coasters. That the year 1815 did bring great relief to American commerce is undeniable, but it cannot safely be asserted that this relief was a result of the war, though Clay, in a fine frenzy, in 1813, had said that the United States was "fighting for FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS." The rise of manufacturing as one of the results of the war on commerce between 1806 and 1812, and of the war of battalions and of vessels between

1812 and 1815, will be treated at length in another chapter.¹

After the war and the peace of Ghent, rather than because of these events, the United States was in a new sense free to work out her destinies. By a stroke of good-fortune and a rare combination of circumstances in Europe and America, comparable with those which existed in 1783 and 1793, the United States was free from entangling connections with England or France and from subserviency to their animosities. Save for the brief period between 1789 and 1793, she had known no such freedom before. Old things had passed away—questions of neutral rights, impressments, embargoes, orders in council, French decrees, Napoleonic treachery. The new world was to be a domestic world. Its questions would be too big for the states to solve alone; national settlement and national action would be required on such issues as the currency, banking, the tariff, internal improvements, public lands, the extension of slavery, immigration, and the development of the west.

All but unconsciously the nation at the close of the war heard and obeyed the call to face about. Hitherto it had looked towards the sea; for years it had scanned the horizon anxiously, lest the coming ship should be unfriendly or the bearer of ill tidings

¹ Mahan, "War of 1812," in *Scribner's Mag.*, XXXVI., 495-497; Clay, *Speeches* (Colton's ed., 1857), I., 70; Ingersoll, *Second War*, 2d series, II., 360.

for merchant and statesman. Now its face was set towards the west and the frontier, of which the illimitable possibilities were beginning to dawn upon the national consciousness, as they had been borne in upon Washington and Jefferson in the days of the fathers. The breezy exuberance and the high optimism of the first products of this western life had been felt with vague and uncertain forebodings by the leaders of the old school, when the "war hawks" took it upon themselves in 1811 and 1812 to settle for the nation the long-threshed question of peace or war. Now that the war was over, the same energy and optimism were to be devoted freely for a generation to the new problems. Surely in land areas and in politics there was to be a new earth if not a new heaven.

In dealing with these new affairs, or old affairs on a vaster scale, the ideal and spirit of the nation were to be of vital importance. There was no body of traditions to guide, no solid backing of experience to which to appeal, no adequate conception of the magnificence of the future for which the foundations must be deeply laid. Experimentation, reorganization, readjustment, expansion—these were the processes by which the youthful fibre of the republic was to be hardened for its ever-enlarging work in the world. "We are great," exclaimed Calhoun in 1816, "and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing. This is our pride and danger, our weakness and our strength."¹

¹ *Annals of Cong.*, 14 Cong., 2 Sess., 853.

The consciousness of nationality which came out of the second war with Great Britain was the chief political result, the one most far-reaching in its effects. Before the war the alignment of parties was determined quite as much by the sympathies of the voter with England or with France as by his attitude towards the Constitution or towards the rights of the states. The British party (Jefferson's Anglomen) and the French party (the Federalists' Mobocrats), could not, of course, change all their stripes in a single five years; but common pride in the navy and its achievements, exultation in the peace which brought with it such immediate prosperity, and the fact that the Republicans of 1815 had absorbed a good number of Federalist principles in their fourteen years of power, tended to soften, if not to obliterate, party lines.

Up to the declaration of war, the United States was practically still in colonial relation to Europe, and was treated accordingly by Great Britain and France. The war in America and the closing of an era in Europe changed all this, and made steady progress in nationalism possible. The narrowness of the escape from exactly the opposite condition—the collapse of the national government in 1815—has not been given proper emphasis. The historian who begins to spin from the distaff of what might have been, may spin forever; but it seems clear that Madison's administration, and with it the fate of the federal government, was in the balance in 1815.

Men waited anxiously for news from New Orleans, anticipating defeat for Jackson at the hands of the veterans from the Continental wars; they were prepared to learn from the next packet from Europe that negotiations at Ghent had failed; the committee from the Hartford Convention, with its ominous suggestions, was already in Washington to treat with Congress and the administration. The shock of severe defeat at New Orleans, or complete rupture at Ghent, might have loosed even the slender ties holding the administration together, and sent the fragments of the discredited government flying from the capitol just as the march of the British had dispersed the president and his cabinet in the preceding summer. With victory favoring the United States at Ghent and at the mouth of the Mississippi, the Federalists might well believe that the stars in their courses fought for the Republicans; for it seemed that no degree of incapacity or imbecility in the government and no excess of incompetency in its generals could overbalance good fortune, the fortune of peace.

The government and party thus saved had come into power by the "revolution of 1801," strongly emphasizing democratic principles, state rights, and strict construction of the Constitution; it emerged from the war in 1815 greatly changed, if not greatly chastened, by fourteen years of experience in administration, including three years of war. Every deviation from the strict principles of 1801 had been

in the direction of nationalism — the purchase of Louisiana, the embargo, the seizure of West Florida, and the imposition of a direct tax along with the revival of excises. Hamilton himself would have hesitated to take some of the steps which the Jeffersonian Republicans took trippingly. It was this new, nationalized democracy, purged of most of its impractical theories, which found itself triumphant as the result of the war, and apparently endowed with a long lease of power. Nationalism and democracy were to grow together, both reinforced by the development of the west, by the diversion of the attention of the east from commerce to manufacturing, and by the change from attachment to European interests to devotion to internal development.

In several respects the two parties had exchanged places. The Federalists threatened secession in 1811, because the party responsible for the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799 was about to admit part of the Louisiana purchase as the state of Louisiana, without the consent of all the original states. Later on, the Hartford Convention seemed to make preparations for breaking up the Union. The extent to which Republicans had adopted Federalist positions is perhaps best illustrated by the suggestions in Madison's annual message of 1815; for none but a strong government with liberal endowment of powers could carry out his programme: liberal provisions for defence, an enlarged navy, protection to manufacturers, national

roads and canals, a national university, more military academies, and—very cautiously—a national bank.¹

Even before this message was prepared, Congress gave evidence of the conversion of the Republicans to better views regarding the army and navy. The ratification of the treaty of Ghent made it necessary to put the two services on a peace footing. Monroe, the secretary of war, recommended to the Senate committee on military affairs the establishment of an army of twenty thousand men, involving an annual expense of five million dollars. But this was too much for either House; after various votes for ten, six, and fifteen thousand men, ten thousand was agreed upon in conference, and in this form the bill became a law. Though no large provision was made for the future of the navy, the whole war establishment was maintained un-reduced, and an appropriation of four million four hundred thousand dollars made for its support.²

A little war upon the dey of Algiers might be called one of the results of the war against England. In almost the same breath by which Congress had voted to continue the whole war establishment of the navy, it authorized the use of that navy for punishing the dey for his depredations upon Amer-

¹ Story, *Story*, I., 284, quotes a remarkable letter by Justice Story, written in 1815, on the "glorious opportunity" before the Republicans; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, I., 562 et seq.

² Monroe, *Writings*, V., 321; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, III., 222, 223, 224.

ican commerce. In the annual tribute which the United States had paid for seventeen years to the piratical Algerine, he alleged there was a deficiency of twenty-seven thousand dollars, and, taking advantage of the war with England, he captured American ships and enslaved American citizens. In accordance with the act of Congress, Captain Decatur sailed with ten vessels in May, 1815, to punish the dey and exact a new treaty. After destroying a forty-six-gun frigate and a smaller vessel, he sailed boldly into the harbor of Algiers, and finally extracted from the dey the renunciation of all tribute for the future, the release of all American prisoners without ransom, and a guarantee that the commerce of the United States should never again be molested by the Algerians. "You told us," one of the dey's courtiers is reported as saying to the British consul, "that the American navy would be destroyed in *six months* by *you*, and *now* they make war upon *us* with *three of your own vessels* which they have taken from you." A visit to Tunis and Tripoli with the same grim purpose resulted in similar guarantees of safety to American commerce in the Mediterranean.¹

Not the least of the results of the war was the prominence gained by three of the younger military commanders, each of whom, in consequence, eventu-

¹ *Am. State Paps., Foreign*, III., 748; *Ibid., Naval*, I., 396; Maclay, *Hist. of the Navy*, II., chap. i.; Waldo, *Decatur* (ed. of 1822), 278.

ally was nominated for the presidency, and two of them elected. The American people, while essentially peace-loving and unmilitary by temperament, have shown a curious hero-worship of the successful military leader. The "availability" of Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, and Grant for the presidency rested almost entirely upon their records as military commanders. Ever after 1815 Andrew Jackson was known as the "Hero of New Orleans," and in a few years he became a presidential possibility. William Henry Harrison was a man of good family, education, and political experience, but except as the victor at Tippecanoe in 1811, and at the Thames in 1813, he would hardly have been a highly eligible candidate for the presidency at the age of sixty-seven. Winfield Scott entered the war as a young lieutenant-colonel, but at the close he bore the epaulets of a major-general and a gold medal voted by Congress; promotion and the opportunities of the Mexican War made him the logical Whig military candidate in 1852. Another presidential candidate, a civilian, was John Quincy Adams, whose advancement came as a result of his part in the negotiations at Ghent—a fine recognition of real merit, undiminished by any suggestion of personal or party "pull." Madison transferred him from St. Petersburg to London at the close of the war, and from that post he was called to be secretary of state in 1817 and president in 1825.

Social results of any particular event or series of

events, like those of a war, are not easy to disentangle or measure. Such results cannot be traced like a nerve-fibre from the brain to a particular organ. What changes might have appeared in American society, even had there been no war with England, simply as a result of the expansion of the country, the development of slavery, and the pacification of Europe, are matters for infinite speculation. This much, however, may be set down as an effect of the war: a new, almost intoxicating sense of self-respect on the part of the people and the governing powers in state and nation. The young men of 1815, who had heard so much depreciation of American character during the years of depression and subservience to France and England, gloried in the demonstration of the courage—and good fortune—of the nation; nor did even the Federalists analyze too carefully the validity of the grounds for this personal and national uplift. All were quite ready to forget those things which were behind, and press towards the realization of a new high calling.

The effect of this fresh, free impulse, this fine sense of detachment and of opportunity, affected the literary and religious life of America almost as profoundly as it did the political and economic ideals and activities of the nation. It aided the "theological thaw" which had already begun before 1815. The emotional side of the revolt from the hardness of the old orthodoxy found its expression in the attempts of Campbell in the west and of Hosea Ballou

in the east to reduce religion to a simpler and more inclusive matter, as over against the complex, severely logical exclusiveness of Calvinism and its modifications. The Unitarian movement in New England, centring about Harvard University, had been spreading for a decade when the peace of Ghent was made. Its strong emphasis on the worth of man and the naturalness of his living a loving, sober, righteous, and godly life, according to the dictates of a mind carefully instructed in the comprehensible things of the spirit and of doctrine, fell in with the new national sense of the political worth of the people of the nation. Even where these two movements did not cause organized changes in the churches, their influence was clearly felt, though the era of good feeling in the religious world was slow in succeeding the war of faction and doctrine.¹

In literature the new life began to manifest itself in this second decade of the century, but it seems to be rather a part of the large movement in the English-speaking race than a merely local or national affair, for the international ferment of the American Revolution and of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period had not exhausted its influence at the end of the generation of those who took part in these mighty events. Still it was perhaps due in no small degree to the conditions of the time, that, within a period of twelve years following 1810, there

¹ Adams, *United States*, IX., chap. viii.

were graduated from Harvard University alone a group of men whose achievements, each in his own field of activity, were to be great: Edward Everett, Henry Ware, William H. Prescott, John G. Palfrey, George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.¹ Bryant was beginning his literary career with the striking "Lines to a Waterfowl" and "Thanatopsis." Irving published his uniquely fresh *History of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker*, in 1809. The *North American Review* began its long and honorable career in 1815. The rise of a group of political and occasional orators of great power and of brilliant diction must not be forgotten in any estimate of the intellectual and social characteristics of the period after 1811; their efforts were as distinctly literary and stimulating as were the efforts of Ware or Irving. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and Everett found their original inspiration in the national idea, and with one exception maintained it with cumulative power and grace.

¹ *Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue* (1905), 154-165.

CHAPTER XI

NEW ENGLAND

(1820-1830)

BY geographical position, the land of the Puritans was devoted to provincialism. While other sections merged into one another and even had a west in their own midst, New England was obliged to cross populous states in order to reach the regions into which national life was expanding; and her sons who migrated found themselves under conditions that weakened their old affiliations and linked their fortunes with the section which they entered. The ocean had dominated New England's interests and connected her with the Old World; the fisheries and carrying-trade had engrossed her attention until the embargo and the War of 1812 gave importance to her manufactures. In spirit, also, New England was a section apart. The impress of Puritanism was still strong upon her, and the unity of her moral life was exceptional. Moreover, up to the beginning of the decade with which we have to deal, New England had a population of almost unmixed English origin, contrast-

ing sharply, in this respect, with the other sections.¹

With these peculiarities, New England often played an important sectional rôle, not the least effective instance of which had been her independent attitude in the War of 1812.² By 1820, not only were profound economic and social changes affecting the section, but its relative importance as a factor in our political life was declining.³ The trans-Alleghany states, which in 1790 reported only a little over one hundred thousand souls, at a time when New England's population was over one million, had in 1820 reached a population of nearly two millions and a quarter, while New England had not much over a million and a half. Ten years later, the latter section had less than two millions, while the western states beyond the Alleghanies had over three millions and a half, and the people northwest of the Ohio River alone numbered nearly a million and a half. In 1820 the total population of New England was about equal to the combined population of New York and New Jersey; but its increase between 1820 and 1830 was hardly three hundred thousand, not much over

¹ For the characteristics of New England in colonial times, see Tyler, *England in America*, chaps. xviii., xix.; Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*, chaps. xviii., xix.; Greene, *Provincial America*, chaps. xii., xiii., xvi.-xviii.; Bassett, *Federalist System*, chaps. xi., xiii. (*Am. Nation*, IV., V., VI., XI.).

² Babcock, *Am. Nationality* (*Am. Nation*, XIII.), chap. ix.

³ Adams, *United States*, IX., chaps. iv., vii.

half that of New York, and less than the gain of Ohio. If Maine, the growing state of the group, be excluded, the increase of the whole section was less than that of the frontier state of Indiana. "Our New England prosperity and importance are passing away," wrote Webster at the beginning of the period.¹

Were it not that New England was passing through a series of revolutionary economic changes, not fully appreciated at that time, doubtless the percentage of her growth would have been even more unfavorable. As it was, the rise of new manufactures helped to save her from becoming an entirely stationary section. In the course of the preceding two decades, New England's shipping industry had reached an extraordinary height, by reason of her control of the neutral trade during the European wars. The close of that period saw an apparent decline in her relative maritime power in the Union, but the shipping and commercial interests were still strong. New England possessed half the vessels owned in the United States and over half the seamen. Massachusetts alone had a quarter of the ships of the nation and over a third of the sailors.² Of the exports of the United States in 1820, the statistics gave to New England about twenty per cent., nine-tenths of which were

¹ McMaster, *Webster*, 90.

² Pitkin, *Statistical View* (ed. of 1835), 350.

industrial centre of gravity from the harbors to the water-falls, from commerce and navigation to manufactures. Besides the textile mills of Rhode Island and Connecticut, the Merrimac mills grew rapidly around Lowell, Massachusetts; the water-powers of New Hampshire became the sites of factory towns, and the industrial revolution which, in the time of the embargo, began to transfer industries from the household to the factory, was rapidly carried on. A labor class began to develop, farmers moved into towns, the daughters worked in the mills. It was not long before Irish immigrants found their way to the section and replaced the natives in the mills. The old social and racial unity began to break down.¹

Agriculture still occupied the larger number of New England people, but it was relatively a declining interest. As early as 1794, Tench Coxe had characterized New England as a completely settled region, with the exception of Maine and Vermont. The generation that followed saw an expansion of agricultural population until the best valley lands were taken and the hill-sides were occupied by struggling farmers. By 1830 New England was importing corn and flour in large quantities from the other sections. The raising of cattle and sheep

¹ Woollen, "Labor Troubles between 1834 and 1837," in *Yale Review*, I., 87; Martineau, *Society in America*, II., 227, 243, 246; Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics*, 137; Addison, *Lucy Larcom*, 6; Clay, *Works*, V., 467.

increased as grain cultivation declined. The back-country of Maine particularly was being occupied for cattle farms, and in Vermont and the Berkshires there was, towards the close of the decade, a marked tendency to combine the small farms into sheep pastures. Thus, in the tariff agitation of the latter part of the decade, these two areas of western New England showed a decided sympathy with the interests of the wool-growers of the country at large. This tendency also fostered emigration from New England, since it diminished the number of small farms. By the sale of their lands to their wealthier neighbors, the New England farmers were able to go west with money to invest.¹

In the outlying parts, like the back-country of Vermont, farmers still lived under primitive industrial conditions, supporting the family largely from the products of the farm, weaving and spinning under the conditions of household industry that had characterized the colonial period, slaughtering their cattle and hogs, and packing their cheese. When the cold weather set in, caravans of Vermont farmers passed, by sledges, to the commercial centres of New England.² But the conditions of life were hard for the back-country farmer, and the time was rapidly approaching when

¹ *Niles' Register*, XLIX., 68; Smith and Rann, *Rutland County* [Vt.], 106; Goodhue, *Hist. of Shoreham* [Vt.], 59; Nat. Assoc. of Wool Manufacturers, *Bulletin*, XXX., 47, 242, 261.

² Heaton, *Story of Vermont*, chap. vi.

the attractions of the western prairies would cause a great exodus from these regions.

While New England underwent the economic changes that have been mentioned, a political revolution was also in progress. The old Federalist party and Federalist ideas gradually gave way. Federalism found its most complete expression in Connecticut, "the land of steady habits," where "Innovation" had always been frowned upon by a governing class in which the Congregational clergy were powerful. Permanence in office and the influence of the clergy were prominent characteristics of the Connecticut government.¹ The ceremonies of the counting of votes for governor indicated the position of the dominant classes in this society. This solemnity was performed in the church. "After the Representatives," wrote Dwight, the president of Yale College, "walk the Preacher of the Day, and the Preacher of the succeeding year: and a numerous body of the Clergy, usually more than one hundred, close the procession." He notes that there were several thousand spectators from all over the state, who were perfectly decorous, not even engaging in noisy conversation, and that a public dinner was regularly given by the state to the clergy who were present at the election.²

After the War of 1812, this dominance of the

¹ Dwight, *Travels*, I., 262, 263, 291; Welling, "Conn. Federalism," in N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Address*, 1890, pp. 39-41.

² Dwight, *Travels*, I., 267.

Congregational clergy throughout the section was attacked by a combination of religious and political forces.¹ There had been a steady growth of denominations like the Baptists and Methodists in New England. As a rule, these were located in the remoter and newer communities, and, where they were strongest, there was certain to be a considerable democratic influence. Not only did these denominations tend to unite against the Federalists and the Congregationalists, but they found useful allies in the members of the old and influential Episcopal church, who had with them a common grievance because of the relations between the state and Congregationalism. Although the original support of the Congregational clergy by public taxation had been modified by successive acts of legislation in most of these states, so that persons not of that church might make their legal contributions for the support of their own clergy,² yet this had been achieved only recently and but incompletely.

We find, therefore, that the alliance of Episcopalians and Dissenters against the dominant clergy and the Federalists was the key to internal politics at the opening of our period. "The old political distinctions," wrote the editor of the *Vermont Journal*, "seem to have given place to religious

¹ Schouler, *United States*, II., 282, 311, III., 52; Adams, *United States*, IX., 133.

² Fearon, *Sketches of America*, 114.

ones." But the religious contentions were so closely interwoven with the struggle of New England's democracy to throw off the control of the established classes, that the contest was in reality rather more political and social than religious. By her constitutional convention of 1818, Connecticut practically disestablished the Congregational church and did away with the old manner of choosing assistants.¹ In the election of 1820 the Republican candidate for governor was elected by a decisive vote, and all of Connecticut's representation in the lower house of Congress was Republican,² although, in 1816, the Federalist candidate had been chosen by a small majority.³ New Hampshire's toleration act was passed in 1819, but she had achieved her revolution as early as 1816, when a union of the anti-Congregational denominations with the Republicans destroyed the ascendancy of the Federalists and tried to break that party's control of the educational centre at Dartmouth College.⁴

The contest was not so clearly marked in Massachusetts as in the other states, for the old centres of Congregational power, notably Harvard College, had already begun to feel the liberalizing influence of the Unitarian movement. Congregationalism in

¹ Baldwin, "The Three Constitutions of Conn.," in *New Haven Colony Hist. Soc., Papers*, V., 210-214.

² *Niles' Register*, XVIII., 128.

³ Adams, *United States*, IX., 133.

⁴ F. B. Sanborn, *New Hampshire*, 251 et seq.; Barstow, *New Hampshire*, chaps. xi., xii.; Plumer, *William Plumer*, 437-460.

Massachusetts divided into warring camps¹ and was not in a position to exercise the political power it had shown in other states of New England. The discussion in that state between the Unitarian and orthodox wings of the Congregational churches tended, on the whole, to moderate the extreme views of each, as well as to prevent their united domination. In her constitutional convention of 1820, Massachusetts refused to do away with the advantage which the Congregational church had in the matter of public support, and it was not until 1833 that the other denominations secured the complete separation of church and state. The moderate attitude of the Federalists of the state lengthened their tenure of power. Governor Brooks, elected by the Federalists in 1817, was a friend of Monroe, and a moderate who often took Republicans for his counsellors, a genuine representative of what has been aptly termed the "Indian summer of Federalism in Massachusetts."

The Republican party controlled the other states of the section, but there was in New England, as a whole, a gradual decline and absorption, rather than a destruction, of the Federalist party, while, at the same time, marked internal political differences constituted a basis for subsequent political conflicts. Just before he took his seat in Congress in 1823, Webster lamented to Judge Story that New England did not get out of the "dirty squabble of

¹ Walker, *Cong. Churches in the U. S.*, 303-308.

local politics, and assert her proper character and consequence." "We are disgraced," he said, "beyond help or hope by these things. There is a Federal interest, a Democratic interest, a bankrupt interest, an orthodox interest, and a middling interest; but I see no national interest, nor any national feeling in the whole matter."¹

In general, northern New England—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont—showed a distinct tendency towards Democracy; in southern New England the fortifications of Federalism and Congregational power lay in a wide belt along the Connecticut River, while along the sea-coast and in the Berkshire region the Democratic forces showed strength.

From the outlying rural forces, where Democracy was strong, the settlement of New-Englanders in the middle west was to come. To Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale, who voiced the extreme conservatism of Federal New England, the pioneers seemed unable to live in regular society. "They are impatient of the restraints of law, religion, and morality; grumble about the taxes, by which Rulers, Ministers, and School-masters, are supported; and complain incessantly, as well as bitterly, of the extortions of mechanics, farmers, merchants, and physicians; to whom they are always indebted. At the same time, they are usually possessed, in their own view, of uncommon wisdom; understand medical science, politics, and religion, better than those,

¹ McMaster, *Webster*, 99.

who have studied them through life." These restless men, with nothing to lose, who were delighted with innovation, were, in his judgment, of the type that had ruined Greece and Rome. "In mercy, therefore," exclaimed Dwight, "to the sober, industrious, and well-disposed inhabitants, Providence has opened in the vast western wilderness a retreat, sufficiently alluring to draw them away from the land of their nativity. We have many troubles even now; but we should have many more, if this body of foresters had remained at home." ¹

Perhaps the most striking feature of New England life was its organization into communities. What impressed the traveller from other sections or from the Old World was partly the small farms, divided into petty fields by stone fences, but, above all, "the clustering of habitations in villages instead of dispersing them at intervals of a mile over the country." The spires of the white churches of separate hamlets dotted the landscape. Simple comfort and thrift were characteristic of the region. "Here," wrote a Virginia planter, travelling in New England in the early thirties, "is not apparent a hundredth part of the abject squalid poverty that our State presents." ²

The morale of New England was distinctive. Puritanism had founded the section, and two centuries of Calvinistic discipline had moulded the New

¹ Dwight, *Travels*, II., 458-463.

² "Minor's Journal," in *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI., 333.

England conscience. That serious self-consciousness, that self-scrutiny, almost morbid at times, by which the Puritan tried to solve the problem of his personal salvation, to determine whether he was of the elect,¹ was accompanied by an almost equal anxiety concerning the conduct of his neighbors. The community life of New England emphasized this trait.

Tudor, who was not friendly to the ideals of the "land of steady habits," criticised "the narrowing influence of local policy," and lamented the "sort of habitual, pervading police, made up of Calvinistic inquisition and village scrutiny" in Connecticut.² Not to be one's brother's keeper and not to assent to the dictates of community sentiment were indications of moral laxity. This long training in theological inquiry, this continued emphasis upon conduct, and this use of community sentiment as a means of enforcing certain moral and political ideals, led the New-Englander to war with opposing conceptions wherever he went.

A test of the ideals of New England is found in the attitude of those who spread into new regions. The migrating Yankee was a reformer. A considerable proportion of the New-Englanders who left the section were "come-outers" in religion as in politics; many of the Vermonters and the pioneers who went west were radicals. But the majority of

¹ Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, 6.

² Tudor, *Letters on the Eastern States* (ed. of 1821), 60.

these dissenters from the established order carried with them a body of ideas regarding conduct and a way of looking at the world that were deeply influenced by their old Puritan training. If, indeed, they revolted from the older type of Calvinism in the freer air of a new country, they were, by this sudden release from restraint, likely to develop "isms" of their own, which revealed the strong underlying forces of religious thinking. Lacking the restraining influence of the old Congregational system, some of them contented themselves with placing greater emphasis upon emotional religion and eagerly embraced membership in churches like the Baptist or Methodist, or accepted fellowship with Presbyterians and welcomed the revival spirit of the western churches.

Others used their freedom to proclaim a new order of things in the religious world. Most noteworthy was Mormonism, which was founded by a migrating New England family and was announced and reached its first success among the New-Englanders of New York and Ohio. Antimasonry and spiritualism flourished in the Greater New England in which these emancipated Puritans settled. Wherever the New-Englander went he was a leader in reform, in temperance crusades, in abolition of slavery, in Bible societies, in home missions, in the evangelization of the west, in the promotion of schools, and in the establishment of sectarian colleges.

Perhaps the most significant elements in the dis-

integration of the old Congregationalism in New England itself, however, were furnished by the Unitarians and the Universalists. For nearly a generation the liberal movement in religion had been progressing. The Unitarian revolt, of which Channing was the most important leader, laid its emphasis upon conduct rather than upon a plan of salvation by atonement. In place of original sin and total depravity, it came more and more to put stress upon the fatherhood of God and the dignity of man. The new optimism of this faith was carried in still another direction by the Universalist movement, with its gospel of universal salvation.¹

The strength of the Unitarian movement was confined to a limited area about Boston, but within its own sphere of influence it contested successfully with the old Congregational power, captured Harvard College, and caught the imaginations of large numbers of the best educated and prosperous classes of the community. Attempting to adjust themselves between the old order of things on the one side, and the new forces of evangelism and liberalism on the other, another great body of Congregationalists found a middle ground in a movement of modified Calvinism, which sustained the life of Congregationalism in large areas of New England. By these movements of conflict and readjustment, whatever of unity the older Congregational faith had possessed was gradually broken

¹ Cf. Babcock, *Am. Nationality* (*Am. Nation*, XIII.), chap. xi.

down and a renaissance of religious and moral ideas was ushered in.

This change was soon to find expression in a new literary movement in New England, a movement in which poetry and prose were to take on a cheerful optimism, a joy in life, and an idealism. This new literature reflected the influence of the Unitarian movement, the influence of European romantic literature, and the influence of German philosophy. Before long the Transcendentalists proclaimed the new idealism that was showing itself about Boston.¹ Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, and Emerson were all prophesied in the forces of intellectual change that now spread over the section.

Even New England's statesmen were deeply influenced by the literary spirit. Daniel Webster, although the son of a New Hampshire pioneer whose log cabin was on the edge of the vast forest that stretched north to Canada, had won an education at the "little college" at Dartmouth; and, after his removal to Boston, he captivated New England by his noble commemorative orations and enriched his arguments before the courts by the splendor of his style. He united the strong, passionate nature of his backwoods father with a mind brought under the influences of the cultured society of Boston. John Quincy Adams, also, had been professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard, and he found in

¹ Wendell, *Literary Hist. of America*, book V., chaps. iv., v.

the classics a solace when the political world grew dark around him. Edward Everett represented even more clearly the union of the man of letters with the political leader. If we except the brilliant but erratic John Randolph, of Roanoke, no statesman from other sections showed this impress of literature.

While these forces were developing, a liberalizing of the colleges, and particularly of Harvard, by the introduction of new courses in literature and science, was in progress. Reform movements, designed to give fuller expression to common-school public education, began, and already in 1821 Boston had established the first English high-school, precursor of a movement of profound importance in the uplifting of the masses. Lyceums and special schools for the laborers flourished in the new centres of manufacturing. The smaller educational centres, like Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Amherst, and Williams, where the farmer boys of New England worked their way through college, sent out each year men to other sections to become leaders at the bar, in the pulpit, in the press, and in the newer colleges. The careers of Amos Kendall, Prentiss, and others illustrate these tendencies. In short, New England was training herself to be the school-mistress of the nation. Her abiding power was to lie in the influence which she exerted in letters, in education, and in reform. She was to find a new life and a larger sphere of activity in the wide-spread

western communities which were already invaded by her sons. In furnishing men of talent in these fields she was to have an influence out of all relation to her population.¹

¹ *Century Mag.*, XLVII., 43.

CHAPTER XII

THE MIDDLE REGION

(1820-1830)

THE middle states formed a zone of transition between the east and the west, the north and the south.¹ Geographically, they lay on the line of the natural routes between the Atlantic on the one side, and the Ohio and the Great Lakes on the other.² The waters of the Susquehanna, rising near the lake region of central New York, flowed to Chesapeake Bay, which opened into the Atlantic far down Virginia's coast-line. The Great Valley ran through eastern Pennsylvania, across Maryland, and, in the form of the Shenandoah Valley, made a natural highway to the interior of North Carolina. New York City and Philadelphia saw in an intimate connection with the rising west the pledge of their prosperity; and Baltimore, which was both a metropolis of the south and of the middle region, ex-

¹ For earlier discussions of the middle colonies and states, see Tyler, *England in America*, chap. xvii.; Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*, chaps. v., vii., xviii., xix.; Greene, *Provincial America*, chaps. xvi.-xviii. (*Am. Nation*, IV., V., VI.)

² Gallatin, *Writings*, III., 49; Clinton, in *Laws of the State of N. Y. in Relation to Erie and Champlain Canals*, I., 140.

tended her trade north to central New York, west to the Ohio, and south into Virginia, and, like her rivals, sent her fleets to garner the commercial harvest of the sea.

In the composition of its population, also, the middle region was a land of transitions between sections, and a prototype of the modern United States, composite in its nationality. In New York an influential Dutch element still remained; the New England settlers had colonized the western half of the state and about equalled the native population. In Pennsylvania, Germans and Scotch-Irishmen had settled in such numbers in the course of the eighteenth century that, by the time of the Revolution, her population was almost evenly divided between these stocks and the English.¹ There was also a larger proportion of recent immigrants than in any other state, for by 1830 Pennsylvania had one unnaturalized alien to every fifty inhabitants.

Following the Great Valley in the middle of the same century, the Scotch-Irish and German settlers had poured into the up-country of the south, so that these interior counties of Virginia and the Carolinas were like a peninsula thrust down from Pennsylvania into the south, with economic, racial, social, and religious connections which made an intimate bond between the two sections. A multi-

¹ See Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement in Pa.*, in *University of Pa., Publications*, I., 24, 35.

tude of religious sects flourished in tolerant Pennsylvania, and even the system of local government was a combination of the New England town and the southern county.

This region, therefore, was essentially a mediating, transitional zone, including in its midst an outlying New England and a west, and lacking the essential traits of a separate section. It was fundamentally national in its physiography, its composition, and its ideals—a fighting-ground for political issues which found their leaders in the other sections.

Compared with New England, the middle region was a rapidly growing section. The population of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware combined was about two and three-quarter millions in 1820, and three and two-third millions in 1830. By that date New York alone balanced all New England in the number of its people. But it was its western half that permitted this growth of the middle section. During the decade 1820–1830, New York west of Oneida Lake increased in population by a percentage more than twice as great, and by an amount almost as great, as that of the populous eastern half of the state. By the end of the decade, about one-third of Pennsylvania's population was found west of her central counties. At that time New York and Pennsylvania became the most populous states in the Union. Virginia and Massachusetts, which in 1790 held the lead, had now fallen to third and eighth place respectively.

New Jersey, meanwhile, lagged far behind, and Delaware's rate of increase was only five and one-half per cent.

In 1829 a member of the Virginia constitutional convention asked: "Do gentlemen really believe, that it is owing to any diversity in the principles of the State Governments of the two states, that New York has advanced to be the first state in the Union, and that Virginia, from being the first, is now the third, in wealth and population? Virginia ceded away her Kentucky, to form a new state; and New York has retained her Genessee—there lies the whole secret." ¹

In the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth the New York lands beyond the sources of the Mohawk had been taken up by a colonization characteristically western. New England farmers swarmed into the region, hard on the heels of the retreating Indians. Scarcely more than a decade before 1820 western New York presented typically frontier conditions. The settlers felled and burned the forest, built little towns, and erected mills, and now, with a surplus of agricultural products, they were suffering from the lack of a market and were demanding transportation facilities. Some of their lumber and flour found its way by the lakes and the St. Lawrence to Montreal, a portion went by rafts down the Allegheny to the waters of the Ohio, and some descend-

¹ Va. Constitutional Convention, *Debates* (1829-1830), 405.

ed the upper tributaries of the Susquehanna and found an outlet in Baltimore or Philadelphia; but these routes were unreliable and expensive, and by one of them trade was diverted from the United States to Canada. There was a growing demand for canals that should give economic unity to New York and turn the tide of her interior commerce along the Mohawk and Lake Champlain into the waters of the Hudson and so to the harbor of New York City. The Erie and the Champlain canals were the outcome of this demand.

It is the glory of De Witt Clinton that he saw the economic revolution which the Erie Canal would work, and that he was able to present clearly and effectively the reasons which made the undertaking practicable and the financial plan which made it possible. He persuaded the legislature by the vision of a greater Hudson River, not only reaching to the western confines of the state, but even, by its connection with Lake Erie, stretching through two thousand miles of navigable lakes and rivers to the very heart of the interior of the United States. To him the Erie Canal was a political as well as an economic undertaking. "As a bond of union between the Atlantic and western states," he declared, "it may prevent the dismemberment of the American empire. As an organ of communication between the Hudson, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the great lakes of the north and west, and their tributary rivers, it will create the greatest inland trade ever

witnessed. The most fertile and extensive regions of America will avail themselves of its facilities for a market. All their surplus productions, whether of the soil, the forest, the mines, or the water, their fabrics of art and their supplies of foreign commodities, will concentrate in the city of New-York for transportation abroad or consumption at home. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, trade, navigation, and the arts, will receive a correspondent encouragement. That city will, in the course of time become the granary of the world, the emporium of commerce, the seat of manufactures, the focus of great moneyed operations, and the concentrating point of vast, disposable, and accumulating capitals, which will stimulate, enliven, extend, and reward the exertions of human labor and ingenuity, in all their processes and exhibitions. And before the revolution of a century, the whole island of Manhattan, covered with habitations and replenished with a dense population, will constitute one vast city."¹

Sanguine as were Clinton's expectations, the event more than justified his confidence. By 1815 the great canal system, reaching by way of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence, and by way of the Mohawk and the lakes of central New York to Lake Erie was opened for traffic throughout its whole length. The decrease in transportation charges brought prosperity and a tide of population into western New York: villages sprang up along the

¹ *View of the Future Canal* (N. Y., 1815), 20.

whole line of the canal; the water-power was utilized for manufactures; land values in the western part of the state doubled and in many cases quadrupled; farm produce more than doubled in value. Buffalo and Rochester became cities.¹ The raw products of the disappearing forests of western New York—lumber, staves, pot and pearl ashes, etc., and the growing surplus of agricultural products, began to flow in increasing volume down this greater Hudson River to New York City. The farther west was also turning its streams of commerce into this channel. The tolls of the canal system were over half a million dollars immediately upon its completion; for 1830 they were over a million dollars.² By 1833 the annual value of the products sent by way of the Erie and Champlain canals was estimated at thirteen million dollars.³ At the close of this decade the Ohio system of canals, inspired by the success of the Erie Canal, had rendered a large area of that state tributary to New York. The Great Lake navigation grew steadily, the Western Reserve increased its population, and the harbor of Cleveland became a centre of trade.

The effect of all this upon New York City was

¹ J. Winden, *Influence of the Erie Canal* (MS. Thesis, University of Wisconsin); U. S. Census of 1900, *Population*, I., 430, 432; Callender, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII., 22; Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, XIV., chap. v.

² McMaster, *United States*, V., 135; Canal Commissioners of N. Y., *Report* (January 17, 1833), App. A.

³ Pitkin, *Statistical View* (ed. of 1835), 577.

revolutionary. Its population increased from 123,000 in 1820 to 202,000 in 1830. Its real and personal estate rose in value from about seventy million dollars in 1820 to about one hundred and twenty-five million dollars in 1830.¹ The most significant result of the canal was the development of the commerce of New York City, which rose from a market town for the Hudson River to be the metropolis of the north. The value of the imports of New York state in 1821 was twenty-four million dollars; in 1825, the year of the completion of the canal, it was fifty million dollars. This was an exceptional year, however, and in 1830 the value of the imports was thirty-six million dollars. In 1821 New York had thirty-eight per cent. of the total value of imports into the United States; in 1825, over fifty per cent.; and this proportion she maintained during our period. In the exports of domestic origin, New York was surpassed in 1819 by Louisiana, and in 1820 by South Carolina, but thereafter the state took and held the lead.² In 1823 the amount of flour sent from the western portion of New York by the Erie Canal equalled the whole amount which reached New Orleans from the Mississippi Valley in that year.³ The state of New York had by a

¹ U. S. Census of 1900, *Population*, I., 432; MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics of America*, 145.

² Compiled from Pitkin, *Statistical View*.

³ Based on statistics in *Report on Internal Commerce*, 1887, p. 196; Canal Commissioners of N. Y., *Annual Report* (February 20, 1824), 33.

stroke achieved economic unity, and its metropolis at once became the leading city of the country.

Philadelphia lost power as New York City gained it. Though the counties tributary to Philadelphia constituted the old centre of population and political power, the significant fact of growth in Pennsylvania was the increasing importance of Pittsburg at the gateway to the Ohio Valley. In the Great Valley beyond the Blue Ridge lived the descendants of those early Germans and Scotch-Irishmen who early occupied the broad and level fields of this fertile zone, the granary of Pennsylvania. Beyond this rock-walled valley lay the mountains in the west and north of the state, their little valleys occupied by farmers, but already giving promise of the rich yield of iron and coal on which the future greatness of the state was to rest. The anthracite mines of the northeastern corner of the state, which have given to their later possessors such influence over the industries of the country, were just coming into use. The iron ores of the middle mountain counties found their way to the forges at Pittsburg. Already the bituminous coals of the western counties were serving to generate steam-power for the mills upon the upper waters of the Ohio, but, as yet, the iron manufacturers of the state depended on the abundant forests for the production of coke for smelting.

The problem of transportation pressed hard upon

Pennsylvania from the beginning. While Philadelphia was obliged to contest with Baltimore the possession of the eastern half of the state, she saw the productions of the western counties descending the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. Even the trade in manufactured goods which she had formerly sent to the western rivers was now menaced from two quarters: the development of steam navigation on the Mississippi enabled New Orleans to compete for this trade; and the construction of the Erie Canal, with the projected system of tributary canals in Ohio, made it plain to Pennsylvania that New York was about to wrest from her the markets of the west. It had taken thirty days and cost five dollars a hundred pounds to transport goods from Philadelphia to Columbus, Ohio; the same articles could be brought in twenty days from New York, by the Erie Canal, at a cost of two dollars and a half a hundred.¹ To Pennsylvania the control of the western market, always an important interest, had led in 1800 to the construction of a system of turnpikes to connect Philadelphia with Pittsburg over the mountains, which developed a great wagon trade. But the days of this wagon trade were now numbered, for the National Road, joining the Ohio and the Potomac and passing south of Pittsburg, diverted a large share of this overland trade to Baltimore. The superior safety, rapidity, and cheapness of canal communication showed

¹ McMaster, *United States*, V., 136.

Pennsylvania that she must adjust her transportation to the new conditions.

The way was prepared by the experience of corporations attempting to reach the coal-fields of northeastern Pennsylvania. In 1820 practically the whole output from the anthracite fields came from the Lehigh Valley and amounted to three hundred and sixty-five tons—an equivalent of one for each day of the year. By the end of the decade the output of the anthracite fields was about one hundred and seventy-five thousand tons, and the retail price was reduced to six dollars and a half a ton. Navigation had been secured by the coal companies between the mines and Philadelphia by the Schuylkill; the Union Canal connected the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, and New York City was supplied by the Delaware Canal.¹

This activity in Pennsylvania in the improvement of navigation so far had been the work of corporations; but now, with the growth of population in the west and the completion of the Erie Canal, a popular demand arose for state construction of inland waterways. In 1825 the legislature passed an act under which an extensive system of canals was begun, to connect Philadelphia with Pittsburg, the Allegheny River with Lake Erie, and Philadelphia with the central counties of New York at the

¹ M'Culloch, *Commercial Dictionary* (ed. of 1852), I., 366; U. S. Census of 1880, IV.; Worthington, *Finances of Pa.*

head of the Susquehanna.¹ Obstacles speedily developed in the jealousies of the various sections of the state. The farmers of the Great Valley, whose interests lay in the development of a communication with Baltimore, were not enthusiastic; the southern counties of the state, along the line of the turnpikes, found their interests threatened; and the citizens of the northwestern counties were unwilling to postpone their demands for an outlet while the trunk-line was building. These jealousies furnish issues for the politics of the state during the rest of the decade.²

Nevertheless, Pennsylvania was growing rich through the development of her agriculture and her manufactures. The iron industry of the state was the largest in the Union. Although the industry was only in its infancy, Pittsburg was already producing or receiving a large part of the pig-iron that was produced in Pennsylvania. The figures of the census of 1820 give to the middle states over forty per cent. of the product of pig-iron and castings and wrought iron in the United States, the value of the latter article for Pennsylvania being one million one hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars as against four hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars for New York.³ The influence of this industry upon

¹ See chap. xvii., Turner's *Rise of the New West*.

² McCarthy, *Antimasonic Party*, in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report* 1902, I., 427.

³ Secretary of Treasury, *Report*, 1854-1855, p. 90.

Pennsylvania politics became apparent in the discussions over the protective tariff during the decade.

Together, New York and Pennsylvania constituted a region dominated by interest in the production of grain and the manufacture of iron. Vast as was the commerce that entered the port of New York, the capital and shipping for the port were furnished in part by New England, and the real interest of the section was bound up with the developing resources of the interior of the nation.

It must not be forgotten that, in these years of entrance upon its industrial career, the middle region was also the scene of intellectual movements of importance. These were the days when the Knickerbocker school in New York brought independence and reputation to American literature, when Irving, although abroad, worked the rich mine of Hudson River traditions, and Cooper utilized his early experience in the frontier around Lake Otsego to write his "Leatherstocking Tales." Movements for social amelioration abounded. The lighting of New York City and Philadelphia by gas diminished crime. Reform movements with regard to imprisonment for debt and the improvement of the condition of prisons, temperance movements, improvements in the administration of the public schools, and the increase in the number of high-schools were all indicative of the fact that this new democracy was not unresponsive to ideals. Among the New England element of western New York, as has already been

pointed out, there arose some of the most interesting religious and political movements of the period, such as Mormonism, Spiritualism, and Antimasonry. The Presbyterians and Baptists found a sympathetic constituency in the new regions. It is easy to see that the traits of these western counties of the middle states were such that idealistic political movements, as antislavery, would find in them effective support.

Obviously, the political traits of this section would have a significance proportionate to the power of its population and resources. On the whole, the middle region was the most democratic section of the seaboard, but it was managed by the politicians under a system of political bargaining for the spoils of office. The old ascendancy which the great families exercised over New York politics¹ was on the wane. The rise of the western half of the state diminished the influence of the successors to the patroons; but, nevertheless, family power continued to make itself felt, and a group of new men arose, around whom factions formed and dissolved in a kaleidoscope of political change.

During the colonial period, executive patronage and land grants had been used to promote the interests of the men in power, and the reaction against executive corruption resulted in a provision in New York's constitution of 1777 whereby the ex-

¹ Becker, "Nominations in Colonial New York" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, VI., 261).

ecutive was limited by the Council of Appointment. The state was divided into four districts, and one senator from each was selected by the House of Representatives to serve in this council.¹ By 1821 the council appointed 8287 military officers and 6663 civil officers. Nearly all the state officers, all the mayors, militia officers, and justices of the peace fell under its control.² This concentration of the appointive power in the hands of the dominant faction brought the system of rotation in office, and the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils of war, to a climax. It led to the building up of political machines by the use of offices, from the lowest to the highest, as the currency for political trading. The governor was checked, but the leaders of the party in power held despotic control over the offices of the state.

This bargaining was facilitated by the extension of the system of nominating conventions. From the local units of town and county upwards, the custom of sending delegates to conventions had early developed in the state. It had become a settled practice for the representatives of one local unit to agree with those of another regarding the order in which their favorite sons should receive office. Town bargained with town, county with county, district with district. In place of the system of control by the established classes, New York's democracy was learn-

¹ Fish, *Civil Service*, 87.

² Hammond, *Political Parties in N. Y.*, II., 65.

ing to elaborate the machinery of nomination by the people; but in the process there was developed a race of managing politicians, and the campaigns tended to become struggles between personal elements for power rather than contests on political issues.

The finished product of New York politics is shown in Van Buren, the devotee of "regularity" in party and the adroit manager of its machinery. Shrewdness, tact, and self-reliant judgment, urbane good-humor, mingled with a suspicious and half-cynical expression, were written on his face. "Little Van" was an affable, firm, and crafty politician. Although he was not a creative statesman, neither was he a mere schemer. He had definite ideas, if not convictions, of the proper lines of policy, and was able to state them with incisive and forcible argument when occasion demanded. To him, perhaps, more than to any other of the politicians, fell the task of organizing the campaign of Crawford, and afterwards of making the political combinations that brought in the reign of Andrew Jackson. He was the leader of that element of New York politics known as the Bucktails, from the emblem worn by the Tammany Society. Clinton, his opponent, exercised an influence somewhat akin to the Livingstons, the Schuylers, the Van Rensselaers, and the other great family leaders in the baronial days of New York politics. Brusque, arrogant, and ambitious. he combined the petty enmities of a domineer-

ing politician with flashes of statesman-like insight, and he crushed his way to success by an exterminating warfare against his enemies. Around him gathered a personal following embracing one wing of the Republicans, aided by a large fraction of the old Federal party. For the most part, his strength lay along the line of the Erie Canal and in the regions where the New England element was strong.

About these New York rivals were grouped many lesser lights, for the political organization tended to create a multitude of able political leaders, many of them capable of holding high position, but few of them swayed by compelling ideas or policies.

In Pennsylvania, where the spoils system and the nominating convention developed contemporaneously with the movement in New York, there were even fewer men of the highest political rank. Gallatin's effective career belongs to an earlier period, and he had no successor, as a national figure, among the Pennsylvania party chieftains.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SOUTH

(1820-1830)

IN the decade which forms the subject of this study, no section underwent more far-reaching changes than did the group of South Atlantic states made up of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, with which this chapter will deal under the name of the south. Then it was that the south came to appreciate the effect of the westward spread of the cotton-plant upon slavery and politics.

The invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney,¹ in 1793, made possible the profitable cultivation of the short-staple variety of cotton. Before this, the labor of taking the seeds by hand from this variety, the only one suited to production in the uplands, had prevented its use; thereafter, it was only a question of time when the cotton area, no longer limited

to the water region, would extend to the interior, every where with it. This invention came at an early day. Already the inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Cartwright had worked a revolution in the textile industries of England, by

means of the spinning-jenny, the power-loom, and the factory system, furnishing machinery for the manufacture of cotton beyond the world's supply.¹

Under the stimulus of this demand for cotton, year by year the area of slavery extended towards the west. In the twenties, some of the southern counties of Virginia were attempting its cultivation;² interior counties of North Carolina were combining cotton-raising with their old industries; in South Carolina the area of cotton and slavery had extended up the rivers well beyond the middle of the state;³ while in Georgia the cotton planters, no longer restrained by the Indian line, broke through the barriers and spread over the newly ceded lands.⁴ The accompanying table shows the progress of this crop. It is evident from the figures that throughout South Carolina and Georgia produced practically all of the cotton crop in 1791, when the total was but two million pounds. By 1821 the old south produced one hundred and seventeen million pounds, and, five years later, one hundred and eighty millions. But how rapidly in these five years the recently settled southwest was overtaking the older section.

¹ M. B. Hammond, *Cotton Industry*, trans. L. C. Martin. "Baumwollproduktion." in Schmoller *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaftliche Forschungen* XV.

² Va. Const. Conv., *Debate* (1817-1820) 111-115. Martin, *Growth of Va. and D. C.* (1876) 36.

³ Schöpler, "Sectionalism and Reconstruction in S. C." in Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1900, I, 147-151.

⁴ Phillips, "Georgia and Slave Property in 1802" 1901, II, 140 (comp.).

COTTON CROP (in million pounds)¹

	1791	1801	1811	1821	1826	1834
South Carolina	1.5	20.0	40.0	50.0	70.0	65.5
Georgia.5	10.0	20.0	45.0	75.0	75.0
Virginia.		5.0	8.0	12.0	25.0	10.0
North Carolina		4.0	7.0	10.0	10.0	9.5
Total.	2.0	39.0	75.0	117.0	180.0	160.0
Tennessee. . . .		1.0	3.0	20.0	45.0	45.0
Louisiana.			2.0	10.0	33.0	62.0
Mississippi				10.0	20.0	85.0
Alabama.				20.0	45.0	85.0
Florida					2.0	20.0
Arkansas.5	.5
Total.		1.0	5.0	60.0	150.5	297.5
Grand Total.	2.0	40.0	80.0	177.0	330.5	457.5

is shown by its total of over one hundred and fifty millions. By 1834 the southwest had distanced the older section. What had occurred was a repeated westward movement: the cotton-plant first spread from the sea-coast to the uplands, and then, by the beginning of our period, advanced to the Gulf plains, until that region achieved supremacy in its production.

How deeply the section was interested in this crop, and how influential it was in the commerce of the United States, appears from the fact that, in 1820, the domestic exports of South Carolina and Georgia

¹ Based on MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics*, 462; cf. *De Bow's Review*, XVII., 428; Von Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, 169; Secretary of Treasury, *Report*, 1855-1856, p. 116. There are discrepancies; the figures are to be taken as illustrative rather than exact; e. g., De Bow gives seventy million pounds for Mississippi in 1826.

amounted to \$15,215,000, while the value of the whole domestic exports for all the rest of the United States was \$36,468,000.¹ This, however, inadequately represents the value of the exports from these two cotton states, because a large fraction of the cotton was carried by the coastwise trade to northern ports and appeared in their shipments. Senator William Smith, of South Carolina, estimated that in 1818 the real exports of South Carolina and Georgia amounted to "more than half as much as that of the other states of the Union, including the vast and fertile valley of the Mississippi." The average annual amount of the exports of cotton, tobacco, and rice from the United States between 1821 and 1830 was about thirty-three million dollars, while all other domestic exports made a sum of but twenty million dollars.² Even greater than New England's interest in the carrying-trade was the interest of the south in the exchange of her great staples in the markets of Europe.

Never in history, perhaps, was an economic force more influential upon the life of a people. As the production of cotton increased, the price fell, and the seaboard south, feeling the competition of the virgin soils of the southwest, saw in the protective tariff for the development of northern manufactures the real source of her distress. The price of cotton was in these years a barometer

¹ Pitkin, *Statistical View* (ed. of 1835), p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, 518.

of southern prosperity and of southern discontent.¹

Even more important than the effect of cotton production upon the prosperity of the south was its effect upon her social system. This economic transformation resuscitated slavery from a moribund condition to a vigorous and aggressive life. Slowly Virginia and North Carolina came to realize that the burden and expense of slavery as the labor system for their outworn tobacco and corn fields was partly counteracted by the demand for their surplus negroes in the cotton-fields of their more southern neighbors. When the lower south accepted the system as the basis of its prosperity and its society, the tendency in the states of the upper south, except in the pine barrens and the hill country, to look upon the institution as a heritage to be reluctantly and apologetically accepted grew fainter. The efforts to find some mode of removing the negro from their midst gradually came to an end, and they adjusted themselves to slavery as a permanent system. Meanwhile, South Carolina and Georgia found in the institution the source of their economic well-being and hotly challenged the right of other sections to speak ill of it or meddle with it in any way, lest their domestic security be endangered.²

¹ See chap. xix., Turner's *Rise of the New West*; M. B. Hammond, *Cotton Industry*, part i., App. i.; Donnell, *Hist. of Cotton*; Watkins, *Production and Prices of Cotton*.

² See Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (*Am. Nation*, XVI.).

When the south became fully conscious that slavery set the section apart from the rest of the nation, when it saw in nationalizing legislation, such as protection to manufactures and the construction of a system of internal improvements, the efforts of other sections to deprive the cotton states of their profits for the benefit of an industrial development in which they did not share, deep discontent prevailed. With but slight intermission from the days of Washington to those of Monroe, the tobacco planters under the Virginia dynasty had ruled the nation. But now, when the centre of power within the section passed from the weakening hands of Virginia to those of South Carolina, the aggressive leader of the Cotton Kingdom, the south found itself a minority section in the Union. When it realized this, it denied the right of the majority to rule, and proceeded to elaborate a system of minority rights as a protection against the forces of national development, believing that these forces threatened the foundations of the prosperity and even the social safety of the south.

From the middle of the eighteenth century the seaboard planters had been learning the lesson of control by a fraction of the population. The south was by no means a unified region in its physiography. The Blue Ridge cut off the low country of Virginia from the Shenandoah Valley, and beyond this valley the Alleghanies separated the rest of the state from those counties which we now know as West

Virginia. By the time of the Revolution, in the Carolinas and Georgia, a belt of pine barrens, skirt-
ing the "fall line" from fifty to one hundred miles
from the coast, divided the region of tidewater
planters of these states from the small farmers of
the up-country. This population of the interior had
entered the region in the course of the second half of
the eighteenth century. Scotch-Irishmen and Ger-
mans passed down the Great Valley from Penn-
sylvania into Virginia, and through the gaps in the
Blue Ridge out to the Piedmont region of the
Carolinas, while contemporaneously other streams
from Charleston advanced to meet them.¹ Thus,
at the close of the eighteenth century, the south was
divided into two areas presenting contrasted types
of civilization. On the one side were the planters,
raising their staple crops of tobacco, rice, and in-
digo, together with some cultivation of the cereals.
To this region belonged the slaves. On the other
side was this area of small farmers, raising live-
stock, wheat, and corn under the same conditions
of pioneer farming as characterized the interior of
Pennsylvania.

From the second half of the eighteenth century
down to the time with which this volume deals,
there was a persistent struggle between the planters
of the coast, who controlled the wealth of the region,
and the free farmers of the interior of Maryland,

¹ Bassett, in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report 1894*, p. 141; Schaper, *ibid.*, 1900, I., 317; Phillips, *ibid.*, 1901, II., 88.

Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The tidewater counties retained the political power which they already possessed before this tide of settlement flowed into the back-country. Refusing in most of these states to reapportion on the basis of numbers, they protected their slaves and their wealth against the dangers of a democracy interested in internal improvements and capable of imposing a tax upon slave property in order to promote their ends. In Virginia, in 1825, for example, the western men complained that twenty counties in the upper country, with over two hundred and twenty thousand free white inhabitants, had no more weight in the government than twenty counties on tidewater, containing only about fifty thousand; that the six smallest counties in the state, compared with the six largest, enjoyed nearly ten times as much political power.¹ To the gentlemen planters of the seaboard, the idea of falling under the control of the farmers of the interior of the south seemed intolerable.

It was only as slavery spread into the uplands, with the cultivation of cotton, that the lowlands began to concede and to permit an increased power in the legislatures to the sections most nearly assimilated to the seaboard type. South Carolina achieved this end in 1808 by the plan of giving to the seaboard the control of one house, while the interior held the other; but it is to be noted that this concession was not made until slavery had pushed so

¹ *Alexandria Herald*, June 13, 1825.

far up the river-courses that the reapportionment preserved the control in the hands of slave-holding counties.¹ A similar course was followed by Virginia in the convention of 1829-1830, when, after a long struggle, a compromise was adopted, by which the balance of power in the state legislature was transferred to the counties of the Piedmont and the Valley.² Here slave-holding had progressed so far that the interest of those counties was affiliated rather with the coast than with the trans-Alleghany country. West Virginia remained a discontented area until her independent statehood in the days of the Civil War. These transmontane counties of Virginia were, in their political activity during our period, rather to be reckoned with the west than with the south.

Thus the southern seaboard experienced the need of protecting the interests of its slave-holding planters against the free democracy of the interior of the south itself, and learned how to safeguard the minority. This experience was now to serve the south, when, having attained unity by the spread of slavery into the interior, it found itself as a section in the same relation to the Union which the slave-holding tidewater area had held towards the more populous up-country of the south.

¹ Calhoun, *Works*, I., 401; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in S. C.*, in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report 1900*, I., 434-437.

² Va. Const. Conv., *Debates* (1829-1830); Chandler, *Representation in Va.*, in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, XIV., 286-298.

The unification of the section is one of the most important features of the period. Not only had the south been divided into opposing areas, as we have seen, but even its population was far from homogeneous. By the period of this volume, however, English, French-Huguenots, Scotch-Irish, and Germans had become assimilated into one people, and the negroes, who in 1830 in the South Atlantic states numbered over a million and a half in a white population of not much over two millions, were diffusing themselves throughout the area of the section except in West Virginia and the mountains. Contemporaneously the pioneer farming type of the interior of the section was replaced by the planter type.¹

As cotton-planting and slave-holding advanced into the interior counties of the old southern states, the free farmers were obliged either to change to the plantation economy and buy slaves, or to sell their lands and migrate. Large numbers of them, particularly in the Carolinas, were Quakers or Baptists, whose religious scruples combined with their agricultural habits to make this change obnoxious. This upland country, too distant from the sea-shore to permit a satisfactory market, was a hive from which pioneers earlier passed into Kentucky and Tennessee, until those states had become populous commonwealths. Now the exodus was increased by this later colonization.² The Ohio was crossed, the Mis-

¹ *Niles' Register*, XXI., 132; cf. p. 55 below.

² See chap. v. Turner's *Rise of the New West*.

souri ascended, and the streams that flowed to the Gulf were followed by movers away from the regions that were undergoing this social and economic reconstruction.

This industrial revolution was effective in different degrees in the different states. Comparatively few of Virginia's slaves, which by 1830 numbered nearly half a million, were found in her trans-Alleghany counties, but the Shenandoah Valley was receiving slaves and changing to the plantation type. In North Carolina the slave population of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand, at the same date, had spread well into the interior, but cotton did not achieve the position there which it held farther south. The interior farmers worked small farms of wheat and corn, laboring side by side with their negro slaves in the fields.¹ South Carolina had over three hundred thousand slaves—more than a majority of her population—and the black belt extended to the interior. Georgia's slaves, amounting to over two hundred thousand, somewhat less than half her population, steadily advanced from the coast and the Savannah River towards the cottonlands of the interior, pushing before them the less prosperous farmers, who found new homes to the north or south of the cotton-belt or migrated to the southwestern frontier.² Here, as in North Carolina,

¹ Bassett, *Slavery in N. C.*, in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, XVII., 324, 399.

² Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, in *Amer. Hist. Assoc., Report* 1901, II., 106.

the planters in the interior of the state frequently followed the plough or encouraged their slaves by wielding the hoe.¹

Thus this process of economic transformation passed from the coast towards the mountain barrier, gradually eliminating the inharmonious elements and steadily tending to produce a solidarity of interests. The south as a whole was becoming, for the first time since colonial days, a staple-producing region; and, as diversified farming declined, the region tended to become dependent for its supplies of meat products, horses, and mules, and even hay and cereals, upon the north and west.

The westward migration of its people checked the growth of the south. It had colonized the new west at the same time that the middle region had been rapidly growing in population, and the result was that the proud states of the southern seaboard were reduced to numerical inferiority. Like New England, it was an almost stationary section. From 1820 to 1830 the states of this group gained little more than half a million souls, hardly more than the increase of the single state of New York. Virginia, with a population of over a million, increased but 13.7 per cent., and the Carolinas only 15.5 per cent. In the next decade these tendencies were even more clearly shown, for Virginia and the Carolinas then gained but little more than 2 per cent.

¹ Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report* 1901, II., 107.

Georgia alone showed rapid increase. At the beginning of the decade the Indians still held all of the territory west of Macon, at the centre of the state, with the exception of two tiers of counties along the southern border; and, when these lands were opened towards the close of the decade, they were occupied by a rush of settlement similar to the occupation of Oklahoma and Indian Territory in our own day. What Maine was to New England, that Georgia was to the southern seaboard, with the difference that it was deeply touched by influences characteristically western. Because of the traits of her leaders, and the rude, aggressive policy of her people, Georgia belonged at least as much to the west as to the south. From colonial times the Georgia settlers had been engaged in an almost incessant struggle against the savages on her border, and had the instincts of a frontier society.¹

From 1800 to 1830, throughout the tidewater region, there were clear evidences of decline. As the movement of capital and population towards the interior went on, wealth was drained from the coast; and, as time passed, the competition of the fertile and low-priced lands of the Gulf basin proved too strong for the outworn lands even of the interior of the south. Under the wasteful system of tobacco and cotton culture, without replenishment of the

¹ *Ibid.*, II., 88; Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes*; Gilmer, *Sketches*; Miss. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, VIII., 443.

soil, the staple areas would, in any case, have declined in value. Even the corn and wheat lands were exhausted by unscientific farming.¹ Writing in 1814 to Josiah Quincy,² John Randolph of Roanoke lamented the decline of the seaboard planters. He declared that the region was now sunk in obscurity: what enterprise or capital there was in the country had retired westward; deer and wild turkeys were not so plentiful anywhere in Kentucky as near the site of the ancient Virginia capital, Williamsburg. In the Virginia convention of 1829, Mr. Mercer estimated that in 1817 land values in Virginia aggregated two hundred and six million dollars, and negroes averaged three hundred dollars, while in 1829 the land values did not surpass ninety millions, and slaves had fallen in value to one hundred and fifty dollars.³

In a speech in the Virginia House of Delegates, in 1832, Thomas Marshall⁴ asserted that the whole agricultural product of Virginia did not exceed in value the exports of eighty or ninety years before, when it contained not one-sixth of the population. In his judgment, the greater proportion of the larger plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves,

¹ Gooch, *Prize Essay on Agriculture in Va.*, in *Lynchburg Virginian*, July 4, 1833; Martin, *Gazetteer of Va.*, 99, 100.

² E Quincy, *Josiah Quincy*, 353.

³ Va. Const. Conv., *Debates* (1829-1830), 178; Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 26.

⁴ Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 24, cited from *Richmond Enquirer*, February, 2, 1832.

brought the proprietors into debt, and rarely did a plantation yield one and a half per cent. profit on the capital. So great had become the depression that Randolph prophesied that the time was coming when the masters would run away from the slaves and be advertised by them in the public papers.¹

It was in this period that Thomas Jefferson fell into such financial embarrassments that he was obliged to request of the legislature of Virginia permission to dispose of property by lottery to pay his debts, and that a subscription was taken up to relieve his distress.² At the same time, Madison, having vainly tried to get a loan from the United States Bank, was forced to dispose of some of his lands and stocks;³ and Monroe, at the close of his term of office, found himself financially ruined. He gave up Oak Hill and spent his declining years with his son-in-law in New York City. The old-time tide-water mansions, where, in an earlier day, everybody kept open house, gradually fell into decay.

Sad indeed was the spectacle of Virginia's ancient aristocracy. It had never been a luxurious society. The very wealthy planters, with vast cultivated estates and pretentious homes, were in the minority. For the most part, the houses were moderate frame structures, set at intervals of a mile or so apart, often in parklike grounds, with long avenues of trees. The plantation was a little world in itself.

¹ Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 26.

² Randall, *Jefferson*, III., 527, 561.

³ Hunt, *Madison*, 380.

Here was made much of the clothing for the slaves, and the mistress of the plantation supervised the spinning and weaving. Leather was tanned on the place, and blacksmithing, wood-working, and other industries were carried on, often under the direction of white mechanics. The planter and his wife commonly had the care of the black families whom they possessed, looked after them when they were sick, saw to their daily rations, arranged marriages, and determined the daily tasks of the plantation. The abundant hospitality between neighbors gave opportunity for social cultivation, and politics was a favorite subject of conversation.

The leading planters served as justices of the peace, but they were not dependent for their selection upon the popular vote. Appointed by the governor on nomination of the court itself, they constituted a kind of close corporation, exercising local judicial, legislative, and executive functions. The sheriff was appointed by the governor from three justices of the peace recommended by the court, and the court itself appointed the county clerk. Thus the county government of Virginia was distinctly aristocratic. County-court day served as an opportunity for bringing together the freeholders, who included not only the larger planters, but the small farmers and the poor whites—hangers-on of the greater plantations. Almost no large cities were found in Virginia. The court-house was hardly more than a meeting-place for the rural population. Here farm-

ers exchanged their goods, traded horses, often fought, and listened to the stump speeches of the orators.¹

Such were, in the main, the characteristics of that homespun plantation aristocracy which, through the Virginia dynasty, had ruled the nation in the days of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. As their lands declined in value, they naturally sought for an explanation and a remedy.² The explanation was found most commonly in the charge that the protective tariff was destroying the prosperity of the south; and in reaction they turned to demand the old days of Jeffersonian rural simplicity, under the guardianship of state rights and a strict construction of the Constitution. Madison in vain laid the fall in land values in Virginia to the uncertainty and low prices of the crops, to the quantity of land thrown on the market, and the attractions of the cheaper and better lands beyond the mountains.³

Others called attention to the fact that the semi-annual migration towards the west and southwest, which swept off enterprising portions of the people and much of the capital and movable property of the state, also kept down the price of land by the great quantities thereby thrown into the market. Instead of applying a system of scientific farming

¹ Johnson, *Robert Lewis Dabney*, 14-24; Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 34-37.

² Randall, *Jefferson*, III., 532.

³ Madison, *Writings* (ed. of 1865), III., 614.

and replenishment of the soil, there was a tendency for the planters who remained to get into debt in order to add to their possessions the farms which were offered for sale by the movers. Thus there was a flow of wealth towards the west to pay for these new purchases. The overgrown plantations soon began to look tattered and almost desolate. "Galled and gullied hill-sides and sedgy, briary fields"¹ showed themselves in every direction. Finally the planter found himself obliged to part with some of his slaves, in response to the demand from the new cotton-fields; or to migrate himself, with his caravan of negroes, to open a new home in the Gulf region. During the period of this survey the price for prime field-hands in Georgia averaged a little over seven hundred dollars.² If the estimate of one hundred and fifty dollars for negroes sold in family lots in Virginia is correct, it is clear that economic laws would bring about a condition where Virginia's resources would in part depend upon her supply of slaves to the cotton-belt.³ It is clear, also, that the Old Dominion had passed the apogee of her political power.

It was not only the planters of Virginia that suffered in this period of change. As the more extensive and fertile cotton-fields of the new states of the southwest opened, North Carolina and even

¹ *Lynchburg Virginian*, July 4, 1833.

² Phillips, in *Pol. Sci. Quart.*, XX., 267.

³ Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 42-46.

South Carolina found themselves embarrassed. With the fall in cotton prices, already mentioned, it became increasingly necessary to possess the advantages of large estates and unexhausted soils, in order to extract a profit from this cultivation. From South Carolina there came a protest more vehement and aggressive than that of the discontented classes of Virginia. Already the indigo plantation had ceased to be profitable and the rice planters no longer held their old prosperity.

Charleston was peculiarly suited to lead in a movement of revolt. It was the one important centre of real city life of the seaboard south of Baltimore. Here every February the planters gathered from their plantations, thirty to one hundred and fifty miles away, for a month in their town houses. At this season, races, social gayeties, and political conferences vied with one another in engaging the attention of the planters. Returning to their plantations in the early spring, they remained until June, when considerations of health compelled them either again to return to the city, to visit the mountains, or to go to such watering-places as Saratoga in New York. Here again they talked politics and mingled with political leaders of the north. It was not until the fall that they were able to return again to their estates.¹ Thus South Carolina, affording a combination of plantation life with the social intercourse of the city, gave peculiar opportunities for

¹ Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I., 50.

exchanging ideas and consolidating the sentiment of her leaders.

The condition of South Carolina was doubtless exaggerated by Hayne, in his speech in the Senate in 1832, when he characterized it as "not merely one of unexampled depression, but of great and all-pervading distress," with "the mournful evidence of premature decay," "merchants bankrupt or driven away—their capital sunk or transferred to other pursuits—our shipyards broken up—our ships all sold!" "If," said he, "we fly from the city to the country, what do we there behold? Fields abandoned; the hospitable mansions of our fathers deserted; agriculture drooping; our slaves, like their masters, working harder, and faring worse; the planter striving with unavailing efforts to avert the ruin which is before him." He drew a sad picture of the once thriving planter, reduced to despair, gathering up the small remnants of his broken fortune, and, with his wife and little ones, tearing himself from the scenes of his childhood and the bones of his ancestors to seek in the wilderness the reward for his industry of which the policy of Congress had deprived him.¹

The genius of the south expressed itself most clearly in the field of politics. If the democratic middle region could show a multitude of clever politicians, the aristocratic south possessed an

¹ *Register of Debates*, VIII., pt. i., 80; cf. Houston, *Nullification in S. C.*, 46; McDuffie, in *Register of Debates*, 18th Cong., 2 Sess., 253.

abundance of leaders bold in political initiative and masterful in their ability to use the talents of their northern allies. When the Missouri question was debated, John Quincy Adams remarked "that if institutions are to be judged by their results in the composition of the councils of this Union, the slaveholders are much more ably represented than the simple freemen."¹

The southern statesmen fall into two classes. On the one side was the Virginia group, now for the most part old men, rich in the honors of the nation, still influential, but, except for Monroe, no longer directing party policy. Jefferson and Madison were in retirement in their old age; Marshall, as chief-justice, was continuing his career as the expounder of the Constitution in accordance with Federalist ideals; John Randolph, his old eccentricities increased by disease and intemperance, remained to proclaim the extreme doctrines of southern dissent and to impale his adversaries with javelins of flashing wit. A maker of phrases which stung and festered, he was still capable of influencing public opinion somewhat in the same way as are the cartoonists of modern times. But "his course through life had been like that of the arrow which Alcestes shot to heaven, which effected nothing useful, though it left a long stream of light behind it."² In North Carolina, the venerable Macon remained to protest like a later

¹ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV., 506.

² *Lynchburg Virginian*. May 9, 1833.

statistics of growth in western population and industry.

The western states ranked with the middle region and the south in respect to population. Between 1812 and 1821 six new western commonwealths were added to the Union: Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). In the decade from 1820 to 1830, these states, with their older sisters, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, increased their population from 2,217,000 to nearly 3,700,000, a gain of about a million and a half in the decade. The percentages of increase in these new communities tell a striking story. Even the older states of the group grew steadily. Kentucky, with 22 per cent., Louisiana, with 41, and Tennessee and Ohio, each with 61, were increasing much faster than New England and the south, outside of Maine and Georgia. But for the newer communities the percentages of gain are still more significant: Mississippi, 81 per cent.; Alabama, 142; Indiana, 133; and Illinois, 185. The population of Ohio, which hardly more than a generation before was "fresh, untouched, unbounded, magnificent wilderness,"¹ was now nearly a million, surpassing the combined population of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

A new section had arisen and was growing at such a rate that a description of it in any single year would be falsified before it could be published. Nor

¹ Webster, *Writings* (National ed.), V., 252.

is the whole strength of the western element revealed by these figures. In order to estimate the weight of the western population in 1830, we must add six hundred thousand souls in the western half of New York, three hundred thousand in the interior counties of Pennsylvania, and over two hundred thousand in the trans-Alleghany counties of Virginia, making an aggregate of four million six hundred thousand. Fully to reckon the forces of backwoods democracy, moreover, we should include a large fraction of the interior population of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, North Carolina, and Georgia, and northern New York. All of these regions were to be influenced by the ideals of democratic rule which were springing up in the Mississippi Valley.

In voting-power the western states alone—to say nothing of the interior districts of the older states—were even more important than the figures for population indicate. The west itself had, under the apportionment of 1822, forty-seven out of the two hundred and thirteen members of the House of Representatives, while in the Senate its representation was eighteen out of forty-eight—more than that of any other section. Clearly, here was a region to be reckoned with; its economic interests, its ideals, and its political leaders were certain to have a powerful, if not a controlling, voice in the councils of the nation.

At the close of the War of 1812 the west had much

homogeneity. Parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio had been settled so many years that they no longer presented typical western conditions; but in most of its area the west then was occupied by pioneer farmers and stock-raisers, eking out their larder and getting peltries by hunting, and raising only a small surplus for market. By 1830, however, industrial differentiation between the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi Valley was clearly marked. The northwest was changing to a land of farmers and town-builders, anxious for a market for their grain and cattle; while the southwest was becoming increasingly a cotton-raising section, swayed by the same impulses in respect to staple exports as those which governed the southern seaboard. Economically, the northern portion of the valley tended to connect itself with the middle states, while the southern portion came into increasingly intimate connection with the south. Nevertheless, it would be a radical mistake not to deal with the west as a separate region, for, with all these differences within itself, it possessed a fundamental unity in its social structure and its democratic ideals, and at times, in no uncertain way, it showed a consciousness of its separate existence.

In occupying the Mississippi Valley the American people colonized a region far surpassing in area the territory of the old thirteen states. The movement was, indeed, but the continuation of the advance of the frontier which had begun in the earliest days of

American colonization. The existence of a great body of land, offered at so low a price as to be practically free, inevitably drew population towards the west. When wild lands sold for two dollars an acre, and, indeed, could be occupied by squatters almost without molestation, it was certain that settlers would seek them instead of paying twenty to fifty dollars an acre for farms that lay not much farther to the east—particularly when the western lands were more fertile. The introduction of the steamboat on the western waters in 1811, moreover, soon revolutionized transportation conditions in the West.¹ At the beginning of the period of which we are treating, steamers were ascending the Mississippi and the Missouri, as well as the Ohio and its tributaries. Between the close of the War of 1812 and 1830, moreover, the Indian title was extinguished to vast regions in the west. Half of Michigan was opened to settlement; the northwestern quarter of Ohio was freed; in Indiana and Illinois (more than half of which had been Indian country prior to 1816) all but a comparatively small region of undesired prairie lands south of Lake Michigan was ceded; almost the whole state of Missouri was freed from its Indian title; and, in the Gulf region, at the close of the decade, the Indians held but two isolated

¹ Flint, *Letters*, 260; Monette, in *Miss. Hist. Soc., Publications*, VII., 503; Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 236, 247; Lloyd, *Steamboat Disasters* (1853), 32, 40-45; Preble, *Steam Navigation*, 64; McMaster, *United States*, IV., 402; Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri*, chap. ix.

islands of territory, one in western Georgia and eastern Alabama, and the other in northern and central Mississippi. These ceded regions were the fruit of the victories of William Henry Harrison in the northwest, and of Andrew Jackson in the Gulf region. They were, in effect, conquered provinces, just opened to colonization.

The maps of the United States census, giving the distribution of population in 1810, 1820, and 1830,¹ exhibit clearly the effects of the defeat of the Indians, and show the areas that were occupied in these years. In 1810 settlement beyond the mountains was almost limited to a zone along the Ohio River and its tributaries, the Cumberland and the Tennessee. In the southwest, the vicinity of Mobile showed sparse settlement, chiefly survivals of the Spanish and English occupation; and, along the fluvial lands of the eastern bank of the lower Mississippi, in the Natchez region, as well as in the old province of Louisiana, there was a considerable area occupied by planters.

By 1820 the effects of the War of 1812 and the rising tide of westward migration became manifest. Pioneers spread along the river-courses of the northwest well up to the Indian boundary. The zone of settlement along the Ohio ascended the Missouri, in the rush to the Boone's Lick country, towards the centre of the present state. From the settlements of middle Tennessee a pioneer farming area

¹ See maps of population; compare U. S. Census of 1900, *Statistical Atlas*, plates 4, 5, 6.

reached southward to connect with the settlements of Mobile, and the latter became conterminous with those of the lower Mississippi.

By 1830 large portions of these Indian lands, which were ceded between 1817 and 1829, received the same type of colonization. The unoccupied lands in Indiana and Illinois were prairie country, then deemed unsuited for settlement because of the lack of wood and drinking-water. It was the hardwoods that had been taken up in the northwest, and, for the most part, the tracts a little back from the unhealthy bottom-lands, but in close proximity to the rivers, which were the only means of transportation before the building of good roads. A new island of settlement appeared in the northwestern portion of Illinois and the adjacent regions of Wisconsin and Iowa, due to the opening of the lead-mines. Along the Missouri Valley and in the Gulf region the areas possessed in 1820 increased in density of population. Georgia spread her settlers into the Indian lands, which she had so recently secured by threatening a rupture with the United States.¹

Translated into terms of human activity, these shaded areas, encroaching on the blank spaces of the map, meant much for the history of the United States. Even in the northwest, which we shall first describe, they represent, in the main, the migration

¹ MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (*Am. Nation*, XV.), chap. x.

of southern people. New England, after the distress following the War of 1812 and the hard winter of 1816-1817, had sent many settlers into western New York and Ohio; the Western Reserve had increased in population by the immigration of Connecticut people; Pennsylvania and New Jersey had sent colonists to southern and central Ohio, with Cincinnati as the commercial centre. In Ohio the settlers of middle-state origin were decidedly more numerous than those from the south, and New England's share was distinctly smaller than that of the south. In the Ohio legislature in 1822 there were thirty-eight members of middle-state birth, thirty-three of southern (including Kentucky), and twenty-five of New England. But Kentucky and Tennessee (now sufficiently settled to need larger and cheaper farms for the rising generation), together with the up-country of the south, contributed the mass of the pioneer colonists to most of the Mississippi Valley prior to 1830.¹ Of course, a large fraction of these came from the Scotch-Irish and German stock that in the first half of the eighteenth century passed from Pennsylvania along the Great Valley to the up-country of the south. (Indiana, so late as 1850, showed but ten thousand natives of

¹ See, for Ohio, *Niles' Register*, XXI., 368 (leg. session of 1822), and *Nat. Republican*, January 2, 1824; for Illinois in 1833, *Western Monthly Magazine*, I., 199; for Missouri convention of 1820, *Niles' Register*, XVIII., 400; for Alabama in 1820, *ibid.*, XX., 64. Local histories, travels, newspapers, and the census of 1850 support the text.

New England, and twice as many persons of southern as of middle states origin. In the history of Indiana, North Carolina contributed a large fraction of the population, giving to it its "Hoo-sier" as well as much of its Quaker stock. Illinois in this period had but a sprinkling of New-Englanders, engaged in business in the little towns. The southern stock, including settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee, was the preponderant class. The Illinois legislature for 1833 contained fifty-eight from the south (including Kentucky and Tennessee), nineteen from the middle states, and only four from New England. Missouri's population was chiefly Kentuckians and Tennesseans.

The leaders of this southern element came, in considerable measure, from well-to-do classes, who migrated to improve their conditions in the freer opportunities of a new country. Land speculation, the opportunity of political preferment, and the advantages which these growing communities brought to practitioners of the law combined to attract men of this class. Many of them, as we shall see, brought their slaves with them, under the systems of indenture which made this possible. Missouri, especially, was sought by planters with their slaves. But it was the poorer whites, the more democratic, non-slaveholding element of the south, which furnished the great bulk of the settlers north of the Ohio. Prior to the close of the decade the same farmer type was in possession of large parts of

the Gulf region, whither, through the whole of our period, the slave-holding planters came in increasing numbers.

Two of the families which left Kentucky for the newer country in these years will illustrate the movement. The Lincoln family¹ had reached that state by migration from the north with the stream of backwoodsmen which bore along with it the Calhouns and the Boones. Abraham Lincoln was born in a hilly, barren portion of Kentucky in 1809. In 1816, when Lincoln was a boy of seven, his father, a poor carpenter, took his family across the Ohio on a raft, with a capital consisting of his kit of tools and several hundred gallons of whiskey. In Indiana he hewed a path into the forest to a new home in the southern part of the state, where for a year the family lived in a "half-faced camp," or open shed of poles, clearing their land. In the hardships of the pioneer life Lincoln's mother died, as did many another frontier woman. In 1830 Lincoln was a tall, strapping youth, six feet four inches in height, able to sink his axe deeper than other men into the opposing forest. At that time his father moved to the Sangamon country of Illinois with the rush of land-seekers into that new and popular region. Near the home of Lincoln in Kentucky was born, in 1808, Jefferson Davis,² whose father, shortly before the War

¹ Tarbell, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. i.-iv.; Herndon, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. i.-iv.; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. i.-iii.

² Mrs. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, I., 5.

of 1812, went with the stream of southward movers to Louisiana and then to Mississippi. Davis's brothers fought under Jackson in the War of 1812, and the family became typical planters of the Gulf region.

Meanwhile, the roads that led to the Ohio Valley were followed by an increasing tide of settlers from the east. "Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward," wrote Morris Birkbeck in 1817, as he passed on the National Road through Pennsylvania. "We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track, towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us. . . . A small waggon (so light that you might almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils and provisions, and a swarm of young citizens,—and to sustain marvellous shocks in its passage over these rocky heights) with two small horses; sometimes a cow or two, comprises their all; excepting a little store of hard-earned cash for the land office of the district; where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one fourth of the purchase-money. The waggon has a tilt, or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or the weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party. . . . A cart and single horse frequently affords the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and pack-saddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears

all his effects, and his wife follows, naked-footed, bending under the hopes of the family."¹

The southerners who came by land along the many bad roads through Tennessee and Kentucky usually travelled with heavy, long-bodied wagons, drawn by four or six horses.² These family groups, crowding roads and fords, marching towards the sunset, with the canvas-covered wagon, ancestor of the prairie-schooner of the later times, were typical of the overland migration. The poorer classes travelled on foot, sometimes carrying their entire effects in a cart drawn by themselves.³ Those of more means took horses, cattle, and sheep, and sometimes sent their household goods by wagon or by steamboat up the Mississippi.⁴

The routes of travel to the western country were numerous.⁵ Prior to the opening of the Erie Canal the New England element either passed along the Mohawk and the Genesee turnpike to Lake Erie, or crossed the Hudson and followed the line of the Catskill turnpike to the headwaters of the Allegheny, or, by way of Boston, took ship to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, in order to follow a more southerly route. In Pennsylvania the principal route was the old road which, in a general way,

¹ Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey from Va. to Ill.*, 25, 26.

² *Hist. of Grundy County, Ill.*, 149.

³ *Niles' Register*, XXI., 320.

⁴ Howells, *Life in Ohio, 1813-1840*, 86; Jones, *Ill., and the West* 31; *Hist. of Grundy County, Ill.*, 149.

⁵ See map, pages 226, Turner's *Rise of the New West*.

followed the line that Forbes had cut in the French and Indian War from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by way of Lancaster and Bedford. By this time the road had been made a turnpike through a large portion of its course. From Baltimore the traveller followed a turnpike to Cumberland, on the Potomac, where began the old National Road across the mountains to Wheeling, on the Ohio, with branches leading to Pittsburg. This became one of the great arteries of western migration and commerce, connecting, as it did at its eastern end, with the Shenandoah Valley, and thus affording access to the Ohio for large areas of Virginia. Other routes lay through the passes of the Alleghanies, easily reached from the divide between the waters of North Carolina and of West Virginia. Saluda Gap, in northwestern South Carolina, led the way to the great valley of eastern Tennessee. In Tennessee and Kentucky many routes passed to the Ohio in the region of Cincinnati or Louisville.

When the settler arrived at the waters of the Ohio, he either took a steamboat or placed his possessions on a flatboat, or ark, and floated down the river to his destination. From the upper waters of the Allegheny many emigrants took advantage of the lumber-rafts, which were constructed from the pine forests of southwestern New York, to float to the Ohio with themselves and their belongings. With the advent of the steamboat these older modes of navigation were, to a considerable extent,

superseded. But navigation on the Great Lakes had not sufficiently advanced to afford opportunity for any considerable movement of settlement, by this route, beyond Lake Erie.

In the course of the decade the cost of reaching the west varied greatly with the decrease in the transportation rates brought about by the competition of the Erie Canal, the improvement of the turnpikes, and the development of steamboat navigation. The expense of the long overland journey from New England, prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, made it extremely difficult for those without any capital to reach the west. The stage rates on the Pennsylvania turnpike and the old National Road, prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, were about five or six dollars a hundred-weight from Philadelphia or Baltimore to the Ohio River; the individual was regarded as so much freight.¹ To most of the movers, who drove their own teams and camped by the wayside, however, the actual expense was simply that of providing food for themselves and their horses on the road. The cost of moving by land a few years later is illustrated by the case of a Maryland family, consisting of fifteen persons, of whom five were slaves. They travelled about twenty miles a day, with a four-horse wagon, three hundred miles, to Wheeling, at an expense of seventy-five dollars.² The expense of travelling by

¹ Evans, *Pedestrious Tour*, 145.

² Niles' *Register*, XLVIII., 242.

stage and steamboat from Philadelphia to St. Louis at the close of the decade was about fifty-five dollars for one person; or by steamboat from New Orleans to St. Louis, thirty dollars, including food and lodging. For deck-passage, without food or lodging, the charge was only eight dollars.¹ In 1823 the cost of passage from Cincinnati to New Orleans by steamboat was twenty-five dollars; from New Orleans to Cincinnati, fifty dollars.² In the early thirties one could go from New Orleans to Pittsburg, as cabin passenger, for from thirty-five to forty-five dollars.³

¹ *Ill. Monthly Magazine*, II., 53.

² *Niles' Register*, XXV., 95.

³ *Emigrants' and Travellers' Guide through the Valley of the Mississippi*, 341.

CHAPTER XVI

WESTERN COMMERCE AND IDEALS

(1820-1830)

BY 1820 the west had developed the beginnings of many of the cities which have since ruled over the region. Buffalo and Detroit were hardly more than villages until the close of this period. They waited for the rise of steam navigation on the Great Lakes and for the opening of the prairies. Cleveland, also, was but a hamlet during most of the decade; but by 1830 the construction of the canal connecting the Cuyahoga with the Scioto increased its prosperity, and its harbor began to profit by its natural advantages.¹ Chicago and Milwaukee were mere fur-trading stations in the Indian country. Pittsburg, at the head of the Ohio, was losing its old pre-eminence as the gateway to the west, but was finding recompense in the development of its manufactures. By 1830 its population was about twelve thousand.² Foundries, rolling-mills, nail-factories, steam-engine shops, and distilleries were busily at

¹ Whittlesey, *Early Hist. of Cleveland*, 456; Kennedy, *Hist. of Cleveland*, chap. viii.

² Thurston, *Pittsburg and Allegheny in the Centennial Year*, 61.

work, and the city, dingy with the smoke of soft coal, was already dubbed the "young Manchester" or the "Birmingham" of America. By 1830 Wheeling had intercepted much of the overland trade and travel to the Ohio, profiting by the old National Road and the wagon trade from Baltimore.¹

Cincinnati was rapidly rising to the position of the "Queen City of the West." Situated where the river reached with a great bend towards the interior of the northwest, in the rich farming country between the two Miamis, and opposite the Licking River, it was the commercial centre of a vast and fertile region of Ohio and Kentucky;² and by 1830, with a population of nearly twenty-five thousand souls, it was the largest city of the west, with the exception of New Orleans. The centre of steamboat-building, it also received extensive imports of goods from the east and exported the surplus crops of Ohio and adjacent parts of Kentucky. Its principal industry, however, was pork-packing, from which it won the name of "Porkopolis"³ Louisville, at the falls of the Ohio, was an important place of transshipment, and the export centre for large quantities of tobacco. There were considerable manufactures of rope and bagging, products of the Kentucky hemp-fields; and new cotton and woollen factories

¹ Martin, *Gazetteer of Va.*, 407.

² Melish, *Information to Emigrants*, 108.

³ Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826*, p. 70; *Winter in the West*, I., 115.

were struggling for existence.¹ St. Louis occupied a unique position, as the entrepôt of the important fur-trade of the upper Mississippi and the vast water system of the Missouri, as well as the outfitting-point for the Missouri settlements. It was the capital of the far west, and the commercial centre for Illinois. Its population at the close of the decade was about six thousand.

Only a few villages lay along the Mississippi below St. Louis until the traveller reached New Orleans, the emporium of the whole Mississippi Valley. As yet the direct effect of the Erie Canal was chiefly limited to the state of New York. The great bulk of western exports passed down the tributaries of the Mississippi to this city, which was, therefore, the centre of foreign exports for the valley, as well as the port from which the coastwise trade in the products of the whole interior departed. In 1830 its population was nearly fifty thousand.

The rise of an agricultural surplus was transforming the west and preparing a new influence in the nation. It was this surplus and the demand for markets that developed the cities just mentioned. As they grew, the price of land in their neighborhood increased; roads radiated into the surrounding country; and farmers, whose crops had been almost worthless from the lack of transportation facilities, now found it possible to market their surplus at a

¹ Durrett, *Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club, *Publications*, No. 8), 50-101; *Louisville Directory*, 1832, p. 131.

small profit. While the west was thus learning the advantages of a home market, the extension of cotton and sugar cultivation in the south and southwest gave it a new and valuable market. More and more, the planters came to rely upon the northwest for their food supplies and for the mules and horses for their fields. Cotton became the engrossing interest of the plantation belt, and, while the full effects of this differentiation of industry did not appear in the decade of this volume, the beginnings were already visible.¹ In 1835, Pitkin² reckoned the value of the domestic and foreign exports of the interior as far in excess of the whole exports of the United States in 1790. Within forty years the development of the interior had brought about the economic independence of the United States.

During most of the decade the merchandise to supply the interior was brought laboriously across the mountains by the Pennsylvania turnpikes and the old National Road; or, in the case of especially heavy freight, was carried along the Atlantic coast into the gulf and up the Mississippi and Ohio by steamboats. The cost of transportation in the wagon trade from Philadelphia to Pittsburg and Baltimore to Wheeling placed a heavy tax upon the consumer.³ In 1817 the freight charge from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was sometimes as high as seven

¹ Callender, "Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States," in *Quarterly Journal of Econ.*, XVII., 3-54.

² Pitkin, *Statistical View* (1835), 534.

³ *Niles' Register*, XX., 180.

to ten dollars a hundredweight; a few years later it became from four to six dollars; and in 1823 it had fallen to three dollars. It took a month to wagon merchandise from Baltimore to central Ohio. Transportation companies, running four-horse freight wagons, conducted a regular business on these turn-pikes between the eastern and western states. In 1820 over three thousand wagons ran between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, transporting merchandise valued at about eighteen million dollars annually.¹

The construction of the National Road reduced freight rates to nearly one-half what they were at the close of the War of 1812; and the introduction of steam navigation from New Orleans up the Mississippi cut water-rates by that route to one-third of the former charge.² Nevertheless, there was a crying need for internal improvements, and particularly for canals, to provide an outlet for the increasing products of the west. "Even in the country where I reside, not eighty miles from tidewater," said Tucker,³ of Virginia, in 1818, "it takes the farmer one bushel of wheat to pay the expense of carrying two to a seaport town."

¹ Birkbeck, *Journey from Va.*, 128; Ogden, *Letters from the West*, 8; Cobbett, *Year's Residence*, 337; Evans, *Pedestrious Tour*, 145; *Philadelphia in 1824*, 45; Searight, *Old Pike*, 107, 112; Mills, *Treatise on Inland Navigation* (1820), 89, 90, 93, 95-97; *Journal of Polit. Econ.*, VIII., 36.

² *Annals of Cong.*, 18 Cong., 1 Sess., I., 991; cf Fearon, *Sketches*, 260; *Niles' Register*, XXV., 95; *Cincinnati Christian Journal*, July 27, 1830.

³ *Annals of Cong.*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., I., 1126.

The bulk of the crop, as compared with its value, practically prevented transportation by land farther than a hundred miles.¹ It is this that helps to explain the attention which the interior first gave to making whiskey and raising live-stock; the former carried the crop in a small bulk with high value, while the live-stock could walk to a market. Until after the War of 1812, the cattle of the Ohio Valley were driven to the seaboard, chiefly to Philadelphia or Baltimore. Travellers were astonished to see on the highway droves of four or five thousand hogs, going to an eastern market. It was estimated that over a hundred thousand hogs were driven east annually from Kentucky alone. Kentucky hog-drivers also passed into Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas with their droves.² The swine lived on the nuts and acorns of the forest; thus they were peculiarly suited to pioneer conditions. At first the cattle were taken to the plantations of the Potomac to fatten for Baltimore and Philadelphia, much in the same way that, in recent times, the cattle of the Great Plains are brought to the feeding-grounds in the corn belt of Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa.³ Towards the close of the decade, however, the feeding-grounds shifted into Ohio, and the pork-packing industry, as we have seen, found its centre at Cin-

¹ McMaster, *United States*, III., 464.

² *Life of Ephraim Cutler*, 89; Birkbeck, *Journey*, 24; Blane, *Excursion through U. S.* (London, 1824), 90; *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI., 170.

³ Michaux, *Travels*, 191; Palmer, *Journal of Travels*, 36.

cinnati,¹ the most important source of supply for the hams and bacon and salt pork which passed down the Mississippi to furnish a large share of the plantation food. From Kentucky and the rest of the Ohio Valley droves of mules and horses passed through the Tennessee Valley to the south to supply the plantations. Statistics at Cumberland Gap for 1828 gave the value of live-stock passing the turnpike gate there at \$1,167,000.² Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, declared that in 1824 the south was supplied from the west, through Saluda Gap, with live-stock, horses, cattle, and hogs to the amount of over a million dollars a year.³

But the outlet from the west over the roads to the east and south was but a subordinate element in the internal commerce. Down the Mississippi floated a multitude of heavily freighted craft: lumber rafts from the Allegheny, the old-time arks, with cattle, flour, and bacon, hay-boats, keel-boats, and skiffs; all mingled with the steamboats which plied the western waters.⁴ Flatboatmen, raftsmen, and deck-hands constituted a turbulent and reckless population, living on the country through which they passed, fighting and drinking in true "half-

¹ Hall, *Statistics of the West* (1836), 145-147.

² *Emigrants' and Travellers' Guide to the West* (1834), 194.

³ Speech in Senate in 1832, *Register of Debates in Cong.*, VIII., pt. i., 80; cf. *Annals of Cong.*, 18 Cong., 1 Sess., I., 1411.

⁴ Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 101-110; E. S. Thomas, *Reminiscences*, I., 290-293; Hall, *Statistics of the West* (1836), 236; Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 85; Schultz, *Travels*, 129; Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, IX., chaps. iii., iv., v.

horse, half-alligator" style. Prior to the steamboat, all of the commerce from New Orleans to the upper country was carried on in about twenty barges, averaging a hundred tons each, and making one trip a year. Although the steamboat did not drive out the other craft, it revolutionized the commerce of the river. Whereas it had taken the keel-boats thirty to forty days to descend from Louisville to New Orleans, and about ninety days to ascend the fifteen hundred miles of navigation by poling and warping up-stream, the steamboat had shortened the time, by 1822, to seven days down and sixteen days up.¹ As the steamboats ascended the various tributaries of the Mississippi to gather the products of the growing west, the pioneers came more and more to realize the importance of the invention. They resented the idea of the monopoly which Fulton and Livingston wished to enforce prior to the decision of Chief-Justice Marshall, in the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*—a decision of vital interest to the whole interior.²

They saw in the steamboat a symbol of their own development. A writer in the *Western Monthly Review*,³ unconsciously expressed the very spirit of the

¹ *Annals of Cong.*, 17 Cong., 2 Sess., 407; McMaster, *United States*, V., 166; *National Gazette*, September 26, 1823 (list of steamboats, rates of passage, estimate of products); Blane, *Excursion through the U. S.*, 119; *Niles' Register*, XXV., 95.

² Thomas, *Travels through the Western Country*, 62; *Alexandria Herald*, June 23, 1817.

³ Timothy Flint's *Western Monthly Review* (May, 1827), I., 25; William Bullock, *Sketch of a Journey*, 132.

self-contented, hustling, materialistic west in these words: "An Atlantic cit, who talks of us under the name of backwoodsmen, would not believe, that such fairy structures of oriental gorgeousness and splendor, as the Washington, the Florida, the Walk in the Water, the Lady of the Lake, etc. etc., had ever existed in the imaginative brain of a romancer, much less, that they were actually in existence, rushing down the Mississippi, as on the wings of the wind, or plowing up between the forests, and walking against the mighty current 'as things of life,' bearing speculators, merchants, dandies, fine ladies, every thing real, and every thing affected, in the form of humanity, with pianos, and stocks of novels, and cards, and dice, and flirting, and love-making, and drinking, and champagne, and on the deck, perhaps, three hundred fellows, who have seen alligators, and neither fear whiskey, nor gun-powder. A steamboat, coming from New Orleans, brings to the remotest villages of our streams, and the very doors of the cabins, a little Paris, a section of Broadway, or a slice of Philadelphia, to ferment in the minds of our young people, the innate propensity for fashions and finery. Within a day's journey of us, three distinct canals are in respectable progress towards completion. . . . Cincinnati will soon be the centre of the 'celestial empire,' as the Chinese say; and instead of encountering the storms, the sea sickness, and dangers of a passage from the gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic, whenever the Erie canal shall be com-

pleted, the opulent southern planters will take their families, their dogs and parrots, through a world of forests, from New Orleans to New York, giving us a call by the way. When they are more acquainted with us, their voyage will often terminate here."

By 1830 the produce which reached New Orleans from the Mississippi Valley amounted to about twenty-six million dollars.¹ In 1822 three million dollars' worth of goods was estimated to have passed the Falls of the Ohio on the way to market, representing much of the surplus of the Ohio Valley. Of this, pork amounted to \$1,000,000 in value; flour to \$900,000; tobacco to \$600,000; and whiskey to \$500,000.² The inventory of products reveals the Mississippi Valley as a vast colonial society, producing the raw materials of a simple and primitive agriculture. The beginnings of manufacture in the cities, however, promised to bring about a movement for industrial independence in the west. In spite of evidences of growing wealth, there was such a decline in agricultural prices that, for the farmer who did not live on the highways of commerce, it was almost unprofitable to raise wheat for the market.

An Ohio pioneer of this time relates that at the beginning of the decade fifty cents a bushel was a

¹ *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII., 20; Pitkin, *Statistical View* (ed. of 1835), 534-536.

² *National Republican*, March 7, 1823; cf. *National Gazette*, September 26, 1823; Blane, *Excursion through the U. S.*, 119.

great price for wheat at the river; and as two horses and a man were required for four days to make the journey of thirty-five miles to the Ohio, in good weather, with thirty-five or forty bushels of wheat, and a great deal longer if the roads were bad, it was not to be expected that the farmer could realize more than twenty-five cents in cash for it. But there was no sale for it in cash. The nominal price for it in trade was usually thirty cents.¹ When wheat brought twenty-five cents a bushel in Illinois in 1825, it sold at over eighty cents in Petersburg, Virginia, and flour was six dollars a barrel at Charleston, South Carolina.²

These are the economic conditions that assist in understanding the political attitude of western leaders like Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson. The cry of the east for protection to infant industries was swelled by the little cities of the west, and the demand for a home market found its strongest support beyond the Alleghanies. Internal improvements and lower rates of transportation were essential to the prosperity of the westerners. Largely a debtor class, in need of capital, credit, and an expansion of the currency, they resented attempts to restrain the reckless state banking which their optimism fostered.

But the political ideals and actions of the west

¹ Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 138; see M'Culloch, *Commercial Dictionary*, I., 683, 684; Hazard, *U. S. Commercial and Statistical Register*, I., 251; O'Reilly, *Sketches of Rochester*, 362.

² *Niles' Register*, XXIX, 165.

are explained by social quite as much as by economic forces. It was certain that this society, where equality and individualism flourished, where assertive democracy was supreme, where impatience with the old order of things was a ruling passion, would demand control of the government, would resent the rule of the trained statesmen and official classes, and would fight nominations by congressional caucus and the continuance of presidential dynasties. Besides its susceptibility to change, the west had generated, from its Indian fighting, forest-felling, and expansion, a belligerency and a largeness of outlook with regard to the nation's territorial destiny. As the pioneer, widening the ring-wall of his clearing in the midst of the stumps and marshes of the wilderness, had a vision of the lofty buildings and crowded streets of a future city, so the west as a whole developed ideals of the future of the common man, and of the grandeur and expansion of the nation.

The west was too new a section to have developed educational facilities to any large extent. The pioneers' poverty, as well as the traditions of the southern interior from which they so largely came, discouraged extensive expenditures for public schools.¹ In Kentucky and Tennessee the more prosperous planters had private tutors, often New England collegians, for their children. For example, Amos Kendall, later postmaster-general, was tutor

¹ McMaster, *United States*, V., 370-372.

in Henry Clay's family. So-called colleges were numerous, some of them fairly good. In 1830 a writer made a survey of higher education in the whole western country and reported twenty-eight institutions, with seven hundred and sixty-six graduates and fourteen hundred and thirty undergraduates. Less than forty thousand volumes were recorded in the college and "social" libraries of the entire Mississippi Valley.¹ Very few students went from the west to eastern colleges; but the foundations of public education had been laid in the land grants for common schools and universities. For the present this fund was generally misappropriated and wasted, or worse. Nevertheless, the ideal of a democratic education was held up in the first constitution of Indiana, making it the duty of the legislature to provide for "a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."²

Literature did not flourish in the west, although the newspaper press³ followed closely after the retreating savage; many short-lived periodicals were founded,⁴ and writers like Timothy Flint and James

¹ *Am. Quarterly Register* (November, 1830), III., 127-131.

² Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, pt. i., 508 (art. ix., sec. 2 of Constitution of Ind., 1816).

³ W. H. Perrin, *Pioneer Press of Ky.* (Filson Club Publications).

⁴ Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, chap. iii.; W. B. Cairns, *Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833*, in University of Wis., *Bulletin* (Phil. and Lit. Series), I., 60-63.

Hall were not devoid of literary ability. Lexington, in Kentucky, and Cincinnati made rival claims to be the "Athens of the West." In religion, the west was partial to those denominations which prevailed in the democratic portions of the older sections. Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians took the lead.¹

The religious life of the west frequently expressed itself in the form of emotional gatherings, in the camp-meetings and the revivals, where the rude, unlettered, but deeply religious backwoods preachers moved their large audiences with warnings of the wrath of God. Muscular Christianity was personified in the circuit-rider, who, with his saddle-bags and Bible, threaded the dreary trails through the forest from settlement to settlement. From the responsiveness of the west to religious excitement, it was easy to perceive that here was a region capable of being swayed in large masses by enthusiasm. These traits of the camp-meeting were manifested later in political campaigns.

Thus, this society beyond the mountains, ^{COMBINED} ~~recruited~~ from all the older states and bound together by the Mississippi, constituted a region ^{CONCENTRATED} ~~swayed~~ for the most part by common impulses. By the march of the westerners away from their native states to the

¹ *Am. Quarterly Register*, III., 135 (November, 1830); Schermerhorn and Mills, *View of U. S. West of the Alleghany Mountains* (Hartford, 1814); *Home Missionary*, 1829, pp. 78, 79; 1830, p. 172; McMaster, *United States*, IV., 550-555.

~~public domain~~ ^{LANDS} of the nation, and by their organization as territories of the United States, they lost that state particularism which distinguished many of the old commonwealths of the coast. The section was nationalistic and democratic to the core. The west admired the self-made man and was ready to follow ~~its hero~~ ^{HIM} with the enthusiasm of a section more responsive to personality than to the ~~programmes~~ ^{PROLEGOMENAS} of trained statesmen. It was a self-confident section, believing in its right to share in government, and troubled by no doubts of its capacity to rule.

THE END

CHAPTER XVII

THE FAR WEST

(1820-1830)

IN the decade of which we write, more than two-thirds of the present area of the United States was Indian country—a vast wilderness stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. East of the Mississippi, the pioneers had taken possession of the hardwoods of the Ohio, but over the prairies between them and the Great Lakes the wild flowers and grasses grew rank and undisturbed. To the north, across Michigan and Wisconsin, spread the sombre, white-pine wilderness, interlaced with hardwoods, which swept in ample zone along the Great Lakes, and, in turn, faded into the treeless expanse of the prairies beyond the Mississippi. To the south, in the Gulf plains, Florida was, for the most part, a wilderness; and, as we have seen, great areas of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia were still unoccupied by civilization.

West of the Mississippi lay a huge new world—an ocean of grassy prairie that rolled far to the west, till it reached the zone where insufficient rainfall transformed it into the arid plains, which stretched

away to the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. Over this vast waste, equal in area to France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Denmark, and Belgium combined, a land where now wheat and corn fields and grazing herds produce much of the food supply for the larger part of America and for great areas of Europe, roamed the bison and the Indian hunter. Beyond this, the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas, enclosing high plateaus, heaved up their vast bulk through nearly a thousand miles from east to west, concealing untouched treasures of silver and gold. The great valleys of the Pacific coast in Oregon and California held but a sparse population of Indian traders, a few Spanish missions, and scattered herdsmen.

At the beginning of Monroe's presidency, the Pacific coast was still in dispute between England, Spain, Russia, and the United States. Holding to all of Texas, Spain also raised her flag over her colonists who spread from Mexico along the valley of the Rio Grande to Santa Fé, and she claimed the great unoccupied wilderness of mountain and desert comprising the larger portion of Colorado, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada, as well as California. In the decade of 1820-1830, fur-traders threaded the dark and forbidding defiles of the mountains, unfolded the secrets of the Great Basin, and found their way across the Rockies to California and Oregon; the government undertook diplomatic negotiations to safeguard American rights on the Pacific, and ex-

tended a line of forts well into the Indian country; while far-seeing statesmen on the floor of Congress challenged the nation to fulfil its destiny by planting its settlements boldly beyond the Rocky Mountains on the shores of the Pacific. It was a call to the lodgment of American power on that ocean, the mastery of which is to determine the future relations of Asiatic and European civilizations.¹

A survey of the characteristics of the life of the far west shows that, over Wisconsin and the larger part of Michigan, the Indian trade was still carried on by methods introduced by the French.² Astor's American Fur Company practically controlled the trade of Wisconsin and Michigan. It shipped its guns and ammunition, blankets, gewgaws, and whiskey from Mackinac to some one of the principal posts, where they were placed in the light birch canoes, manned by French boatmen, and sent throughout the forests to the minor trading-posts. Practically all of the Indian villages of the tributaries of the Great Lakes and of the upper Mississippi were regularly visited by the trader. The trading-posts became the nuclei of later settlements; the traders' trails grew into the early roads, and their portages marked out the location for canals.

¹ Cf. Babcock, *Am. Nationality* (*Am. Nation*, XIII.), chap. xv.

² Masson, *Le Bourgeois de Nordwest*; Parkman, *Old Régime*.

Little by little the fur-trade was undermining the Indian society and paving the way for the entrance of civilization.¹

In the War of 1812, all along the frontier of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, as well as in the southwest, the settlers had drawn back into forts, much as in the early days of the occupation of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the traders and the Indians had been entirely under the influence of Great Britain. In the negotiations at Ghent, that power, having captured the American forts at Mackinac, Prairie du Chien, and Chicago, tried to incorporate in the treaty a provision for a neutral belt, or buffer state, of Indian territory in the northwest, to separate Canada from the United States.² Taught by this experience, the United States, at the close of the war, passed laws excluding aliens from conducting the Indian trade, and erected forts at Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Chicago, and Fort Snelling. By order of Secretary of War Calhoun, Governor Cass, of Michigan, made an expedition in 1820 along the south shore of Lake Superior into Minnesota, to compel the removal of English flags and to replace British by American influence.³ At the same time, an expedition under Major Long visited

¹ Turner, *Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wis.*, in Wis. Hist. Soc., *Transactions*, 1889.

² Cf. Babcock, *Am. Nationality* (*Am. Nation*, XIII.), chap. x.

³ Schoolcraft, *Hist. of Indian Tribes*, VI., 422; *ibid.*, *Narrative Journal*; "Doty's Journal," in Wis. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, XIII., 163.

the upper waters of the Minnesota River on a similar errand.¹ An agent who was sent by the government to investigate the Indian conditions of this region in 1820, recommended that the country now included in Wisconsin, northern Michigan, and part of Minnesota should be an Indian reservation, from which white settlements should be excluded, with the idea that ultimately the Indian population should be organized as a state of the Union.²

The Creeks and Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws of the Gulf region were more advanced towards civilization than the Indians of the northwest. While the latter lived chiefly by hunting and trapping, the southwestern Indians had developed a considerable agriculture and a sedentary life. For that very reason, however, they were the more obnoxious to the pioneers who pressed upon their territory from all sides; and, as we shall see, strenuous efforts were made to remove them beyond the Mississippi.

Throughout the decade the problem of the future of the Indians east of this river was a pressing one, and the secretaries of war, to whose department the management of the tribes belonged, made many plans and recommendations for their civilization, improvement, and assimilation. But the advance of the frontier broke down the efforts to preserve

¹ Keating, *Long's Expedition*.

² Morse, *Report on Indian Affairs in 1820*.

incorporate these primitive people in the dominant American society.¹

across the Mississippi, settlement of the whites, in the course of this decade, pushed up the Missouri well towards the western boundary of the State, and, as the map of the settlement shows, had made advances towards the interior in parts of Kansas as well. But these were only narrow edges of civilization thrust into the Indian country, the field of operations of the fur-traders. Successors to the French traders who had followed the rivers and lakes of Canada far towards the interior, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Northwest Company under British charters had carried their operations from the Great Lakes to the Pacific long before Americans entered the west. As early as 1793, Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific from the Great Lakes by way of Canada.² The year before,

an English ship under Vancouver explored the northwestern coast in the hope of finding a passage by a strait to the north and east. He missed the mouth of the Columbia, which in the following month was entered by an American, Captain Gray, who ascended the river twenty miles. The expedition of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806, made the first crossing of the continent from territory of the United States,

¹ *Am. State Paps., Indian*, II., 275, 542, et passim; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII., 89, 90, 92; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, II., 4, et seq.

² Mackenzie, *Travels*.

and strengthened the claims of that country to the region of the Columbia.¹

John Jacob Astor's attempt to plant a trading-post at Astoria² had been defeated by the treachery of his men, who, at the opening of the War of 1812, turned the post over to the British Northwest fur-traders. The two great branches of the Columbia, the one reaching up into Canada, and the other pushing far into the Rocky Mountains, on the American side, constituted lines of advance for the rival forces of England and the United States in the struggle for the Oregon country. The British traders rapidly made themselves masters of the region.³ By 1825 the Hudson's Bay Company monopolized the English fur-trade and was established at Fort George (as Astoria was rechristened), Fort Walla-Walla, and Fort Vancouver, near the mouth of the Willamette. Here, for twenty-two years, its agent, Dr. John McLoughlin, one of the many Scotchmen who have built up England's dominion in the new countries of the globe, ruled like a benevolent monarch over the realms of the British traders.⁴ From these Oregon posts as centres they passed as far south as the region of Great Salt Lake, in what was then Mexican territory.

While the British traders occupied the northwest coast the Spaniards held California. Although they

¹ Cf. Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (*Am. Nation*, XII.), chap. vii. ² Irving, *Astoria*. ³ Coates (editor), *Greater Northwest*.

⁴ Schaffer, *Pacific Northwest*, chap. viii.

established the settlement of San Francisco in the year of the declaration of American independence, settlement grew but slowly. The presidios, the missions, with their Indian neophytes, and the cattle ranches feebly occupied this imperial domain. Yankee trading-ships gathered hides and tallow at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco; Yankee whalers, seal-hunters, and fur-traders sought the northwest coast and passed on to China to bring back to Boston and Salem the products of the far east.¹ But Spain's possession was not secure. The genius for expansion which had already brought the Russians to Alaska drew them down the coast even to California, and in 1812 they established Fort Ross at Bodega Bay, a few miles below the mouth of Russian River, north of San Francisco. This settlement, as well as the lesser one in the Farallone Islands, endured for nearly a generation, a menace to Spain's ascendancy in California in the chaotic period when her colonies were in revolt.²

In the mean time, from St. Louis as a centre, American fur-traders, the advance-guard of settlement, were penetrating into the heart of the vast wilderness between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast.³ This was a more absolute Indian domain than was the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi at the end of the seventeenth cen-

¹ R. H. Dana, *Two Years before the Mast*.

² H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of California*, II., 628; Hittel, *Hist. of California*.

³ Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade of the Far West*.

ture—an empire of mountains and prairies, where the men of the Stone Age watched with alarm the first crawling waves of that tide of civilization that was to sweep them away. The savage population of the far west has already been described in an earlier volume of this series.¹

With the development of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, the most flourishing period of the St. Louis trade in the far west began. The founder of this company was William H. Ashley, a Virginian. Between the autumn of 1823 and the spring of the next year, one of his agents erected a post at the mouth of the Bighorn, and sent out his trappers through the Green River valley, possibly even to Great Salt Lake. A detachment of this party found the gateway of the Rocky Mountains, through the famous South Pass by way of the Sweetwater branch of the north fork of the Platte. This pass commanded the routes to the great interior basin and to the Pacific Ocean. What Cumberland Gap was in the advance of settlement across the Alleghenies, South Pass was in the movement across the Rocky Mountains; through it passed the later Oregon and California trails to the Pacific coast.

On the lower Missouri and at various places in the

¹ Farrand, *Basis of Am. Hist.* (*Am. Nation*, II.), chaps. viii., ix., xii.; see also chap. iv. On the location of the Indians, see map, p. 309; Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade*, II., pt. v., chaps. viii., ix., x.; Bureau of Ethnology, *Seventh Annual Report*.

interior,¹ stockaded trading-posts were erected by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and its rival, the American Fur Company. In these posts the old fur-trade life of the past went on, with French half-breed packmen and boatmen, commanded by the bourgeois. But in some of the best trading-grounds the savages declined to permit the erection of posts, and so, under Ashley's leadership, bands of mounted American trappers, chiefly Kentuckians, Tennesseans, and Missourians, were sent out to hunt and trade in the rich beaver valleys of the mountains. The Rocky Mountain trappers were the successors to the Alleghany frontiersmen, carrying on in this new region, where nature wrought on a vaster plan, the old trapping life which their ancestors had carried on through Cumberland Gap in the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky.

Yearly, in June and July, a rendezvous was held in the mountains, to which the brigades of trappers returned with the products of their hunt, to receive the supplies for the coming year. Here, also, came Indian tribes to trade, and bands of free trappers, lone wanderers in the mountains, to sell their furs and secure supplies.² The rendezvous was usually some verdure-clad valley or park set in the midst of snow-capped mountains, a paradise of game. Such places were Jackson's Hole, at the foot of the lofty Tetons, Pierre's Hole, not far away, and

¹ See map, p. 114, Turner's *Rise of the New West*; Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade*, I., 44-51 (describes posts, etc.).

² Irving, *Bonneville*, chap. i.

Ogden's Hole, near the present site of Ogden, in Utah. Great Salt Lake was probably first visited by Bridger in 1824, and the next year a party of Hudson Bay trappers were expelled by Americans who took possession of their furs. In 1826, Ashley carried a six-pounder cannon on wheels to Utah Lake for the defence of his post.

A new advance of the American fur-trader was made when Jedediah Smith succeeded Ashley as the leader in Rocky Mountain trade and exploration. In 1826 he left the Salt Lake rendezvous with a party of trappers to learn the secrets of the lands between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Proceeding to the southwest along the Virgin River, Smith descended it to the Colorado, and crossed the desert to San Diego, California. Here, by the intercession of a Yankee captain then in that port, he obtained supplies from the Spaniards, and turned to the northwest, travelling parallel to the coast for some three hundred miles to wintering grounds on the headwaters of the San Joaquin and the Merced. Leaving most of his party behind, he crossed the mountains, by a route south of the Humboldt, and returned to Great Salt Lake.

Almost immediately he set out again for California by the previous route, and in 1827 reached the San José mission. Here he was arrested by the Spanish authorities and sent under guard to Monterey, where another Yankee skipper secured his release. Wintering once more in California, this time

on the American Fork, he reached the coast in the spring of 1828, and followed the Umpquah River towards the Oregon country. While he was absent, his camp was attacked by the Indians and fifteen of his men killed. Absolutely alone, Smith worked his way through the forest to Fort Vancouver, where he enjoyed the hospitality of Dr. McLoughlin through the winter. In the following spring he ascended the Columbia to the Hudson Bay posts among the Flatheads, and made his way in the summer of 1829 to the rendezvous of his company at the Tetons. In three years this daring trader, braving the horrors of the desert and passing unscathed from Indian attacks which carried off most of his companions, opened to knowledge much of the vast country between Great Salt Lake and the Pacific.¹ In 1831, while on the Santa Fé trail, Smith and his companions lost their way. Perishing with thirst, he finally reached the Cimaron, where, as he was digging for water in its sandy bed, he was shot by an Indian.

Thus the active men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, in the decade between 1820 and 1830, revealed the sources of the Platte, the Green, the Yellowstone, and the Snake rivers, and the characteristics of the Great Salt Lake region; they pioneered the way to South Pass, descended Green River by boat, carried cannon into the interior basin; showed the practicability of a wagon route

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *California*, III., 152-160, citing the sources.

through the Rockies, reached California from Salt Lake, crossed the Sierras and the deserts of Utah and Nevada, and became intimately acquainted with the activity of the British traders of the northwest coast.¹

Already an interest in Oregon and the Rocky Mountain region was arising on the eastern seaboard. In 1832, Captain Bonneville, an officer in the United States army, on leave of absence, passed with a wagon-train into the Rocky Mountains, where for nearly three years he trapped and traded and explored.² Walker, one of his men, in 1833, reached California by the Humboldt River (a route afterwards followed by the emigrants to California), and made known much new country. A New England enthusiast, Hall Kelley, had for some years been lecturing on the riches of the Oregon country and the need of planting an agricultural colony there. It was natural that Boston should be interested in the Oregon country, which was visited by so many vessels from that port. In 1820, New England missionaries settled in the Hawaiian Islands, closely connected by trade with the coast. In 1832, Nathaniel Wyeth, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, led a party of New-Englanders west, with the plan of establishing a trading and fishing post on the waters of the Columbia.³

¹ Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade*, I., 306.

² Irving, *Bonneville*.

³ Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade*, I., 435; Wyeth's "Journals" are published by the Oregon Hist. Soc.; cf. Irving, *Bonneville*, chap. vi.

With Wyeth, on a second expedition in 1834, went the Reverend Jason Lee and four Methodist missionaries. Two years later came Dr. Marcus Whitman and another company of missionaries with their wives; they brought a wagon through South Pass and over the mountains to the Snake River, and began an agricultural colony. Thus the old story of the sequence of fur-trader, missionary, and settler was repeated. The possession of Oregon by the British fur-trader was challenged by the American farmer.

Contemporaneously with the development of the fur-trade in the Rocky Mountains, a trade was opened between St. Louis and the old Spanish settlements at Santa Fé. Although even in the days of Washington adventurous frontiersmen like George Rogers Clark had set their eyes on Santa Fé and the silver-mines of the southwest, it was not until the Mexican revolution (1821), when Spain's control was weakened throughout her whole domain, that systematic trade was possible. In 1822, Becknell, of Missouri, took a wagon-train to Santa Fé, to trade for horses and mules and to trap en route. Year after year thereafter, caravans of Missouri traders found their way across the desert, by the Santa Fé trail, with cottons and other dry-goods furnished from St. Louis, and brought back horses, mules, furs, and silver. The trade averaged about one hundred and thirty thousand dollars a year, and was an important source of supply of specie for the

west; and it stimulated the interest of St. Louis in the Mexican provinces. The mode of handling the wagon-trains that passed between Missouri and Santa Fé furnished the model for the caravans that later were to cross the plains in the rush to the gold-fields of California.¹

By 1833 the important western routes were clearly made known.² The Oregon trail, the Santa Fé trail, the Spanish trail, and the Gila route³ had been followed by frontiersmen into the promised land of the Pacific coast and the southwest. In the course of ten years, not only had the principal secrets of the topography of the Rocky Mountains, the Great Basin, the passes across the Sierra Nevadas been revealed, but also the characteristics of the Spanish-American settlements of California and the Rio Grande region. Already pioneers sought Texas, and American colonization was preparing for another and greater conquest of the wilderness.

The interest of the United States government in the far west in this period was shown in exploration and diplomacy. Calhoun projected an extension of the forts of the United States well up the Missouri into the Indian country, partly as protection to the traders and partly as a defence against

¹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*; Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade*, II., chap. xxix.

² Semple, *Am. Hist. and its Geographic Conditions*, chap. x.

³ *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*; H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of California*, III., 162.

English aggressions. Two Yellowstone expeditions¹ were designed to promote these ends. The first of these, 1819-1820, was a joint military and scientific undertaking; but the military expedition, attempting to ascend the Missouri in steamboats, got no farther than Council Bluffs. Mismanagement, extravagance, and scandal attended the undertaking, and the enterprise was made an occasion for a political onslaught on Calhoun's management of the war department.

The scientific expedition, under Major Long, of the United States Engineering Corps, ascended the Missouri in the *Western Engineer*, the first steamboat which navigated those waters above St. Louis—a stern-wheeler, with serpent-mouthed figure-head, through which the steam escaped, bringing terror to the savages along the banks. The expedition advanced far up the South Platte, discovered Long's Peak, and camped near the site of Denver. Thence the party passed to La Junta, Colorado, whence it broke into two divisions, one of which descended the Arkansas; the other reached the Canadian River (which it mistook for the Red) and descended to its junction with the Arkansas. The effort to push the military power of the government to the mouth of the Yellowstone failed, and the net result, on the military side, was a temporary post near the present site of Omaha.

¹ Chittenden, *Am. Fur Trade*, II., 562; *Long's Expedition* (*Early Western Travels*, XIV.-XVII.).

The most important effect of the expedition was to give currency to Long's description of the country through which he passed as the "Great American Desert," unfit for cultivation and uninhabitable by agricultural settlers. The whole of the region between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains seemed to him adapted as a range for buffalo, "calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward," and to secure us against the incursions of enemies in that quarter.¹ A second expedition, in 1825, under General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, reached the mouth of the Yellowstone, having made treaties with various Indian tribes on the way.

In the mean time, Congress and the president were busy with the question of Oregon. By the convention of 1818, with Great Britain, the northern boundary of the United States was carried from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, along the forty-ninth parallel. Beyond the mountains, the Oregon country was left open, for a period of ten years, to joint occupation of both powers, without prejudice to the claims of either. Having thus postponed the Oregon question, the secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, turned to his Spanish relations. Obligated by Monroe to relinquish our claim to Texas in the treaty of 1819, by which we obtained Florida, he insisted on so drawing our boundary-line

¹ *Long's Expedition (Early Western Travels, XVII.)*, 147, 148.

in the southwest as to acquire Spain's title to the Pacific north of the forty-second parallel, and to the lands that lay north and east of the irregular line from the intersection of this parallel with the Rocky Mountains to the Sabine. Adams was proud of securing this line to the Pacific Ocean, for it was the first recognition by an outside power of our rights in the Oregon country.¹

Although Russia put forward large and exclusive claims north of the fifty-first parallel, which we challenged, the contest for Oregon lay between England and the United States. At the close of 1820, Floyd, of Virginia, moved in the House of Representatives to inquire into the feasibility of the occupation of the Columbia River; and early the next year² a committee report was brought in, discussing the American rights. Floyd's bill provided for the military occupation of the Columbia River, donation of lands to actual settlers, and control of the Indians. No vote was reached, however, and it was not until the close of 1822 that the matter secured the attention of Congress.

Whatever may have been his motives, Floyd stated with vividness the significance of western advance in relation to the Pacific coast. He showed that, while in 1755, nearly a hundred and fifty years

¹ *Treaties and Conventions* (ed. of 1889), 416, 1017; Babcock, *Am. Nationality* (*Am. Nation*, XIII.), chap. xvi.; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV., 275.

² *Annals of Cong.*, 16 Cong., 2 Sess., 945; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, V., 238, 243-260.

after the foundation of Jamestown, the population of Virginia had spread but three hundred miles into the interior of the country, during the last forty-three years population had spread westward more than a thousand miles. He recalled the days when more than a month was required to furnish Kentucky with eastern goods, by way of Pittsburg, and when it required a voyage of over a month to pass from Louisville to New Orleans and nearly three months for the upward voyage. This had now been shortened by steamboat to seven days down and sixteen days up. From these considerations and the time from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia by steamboat and wagon, he argued that Oregon was no more distant from St. Louis in 1822 than St. Louis was twenty years before from Philadelphia. The fur-trade, the whale and seal fisheries, the trade with China, and the opportunity for agricultural occupation afforded by Oregon were all set forth.¹

Against the proposal, his opponents argued inexpediency rather than our treaties with Great Britain. Tracy, of New York, doubted the value of the Oregon country, and, influenced perhaps by Long's report, declared that "nature has fixed limits for our nation; she has kindly introduced as our Western barrier, mountains almost inaccessible, whose base she has skirted with irreclaimable deserts of sand."² In a later debate, Smyth, of

¹ *Annals of Cong.*, 17 Cong., 2 Sess., 397.

² *Ibid.*, 590.

Virginia, amplified this idea by a proposal to limit the boundaries of the United States, so that it should include but one or two tiers of states beyond the Mississippi. He would remove the Indians beyond this limit, and, if American settlements should cross it, they might be in alliance with, or under the protection of, the United States, but outside of its bounds.¹

Baylies, of Massachusetts, declared that there were living witnesses "who have seen a population of scarcely six hundred thousand swelled into ten millions; a population which, in their youth, extended scarcely an hundred miles from the ocean, spreading beyond the mountains of the West, and sweeping down those mighty waters which open into regions of such matchless fertility and beauty." "Some now within these walls may, before they die, witness scenes more wonderful than these; and in aftertimes may cherish delightful recollections of this day, when America, almost shrinking from the 'shadows of coming events,' first placed her feet upon untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the grandeur which awaited her." Tucker, of Virginia, agreed that settlement "marches on, with the increasing rapidity of a fire, and nothing will stop it until it reaches the shores of the Pacific," which he estimated would be by 1872. But he was loath to see it accelerated, believing that the people on the east and the west side of the Rocky Moun-

21 ¹ *Register of Debates*, 18 Cong., 2 Sess., I., 37.

tains would have a permanent separation of interests.¹

Nor were even western men sanguine that the nation could retain the Pacific coast as an integral part of its vast empire. Senator Benton, of Missouri, was the congressional champion of the far west. Born in interior North Carolina, he had followed the frontier to Tennessee, and then, after killing his man in a duel and exchanging pistol-shots in a free fight with Jackson, he removed to the new frontier at St. Louis. Pedantic and ponderous, deeply read in curious historical lore, in many ways he was not characteristic of the far west, but in the coarse vigor with which he bore down opposition by abuse, and in the far horizon line of the policies he advocated, he thoroughly represented its traits.

Familiar as he was with frontier needs and aspirations, he urged the United States to block England's control of the northwest, and to assert title to the Oregon territory, with the idea of ultimately founding a new and independent American nation there. It is true that he admitted that along the ridge of the Rocky Mountains "the western limit of this republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be raised upon its highest peak, never to be thrown down."²

Nevertheless, in his utterances the ideal of expansion was not to be mistaken. He spoke bravely in

¹ *Annals of Cong.*, 17 Cong., 2 Sess., 422.

² *Register of Debates*, I., 712.

favor of the protection and extension of the fur-trade,¹ pointing out that inasmuch as England occupied Oregon, she would, under the law of nations, have the right of possession until the question of sovereignty were decided. He warned his countrymen, in 1823, that Great Britain would monopolize the Pacific Ocean, and by obtaining control of the Rocky Mountain fur-trade would be able to launch the Indians of the north and west against the frontiers of Missouri and Arkansas, Illinois and Michigan, upon the first renewal of hostilities between the United States of America and the king of Great Britain.²

Benton believed that, within a century, a population greater than that of the United States of 1820 would exist on the west side of the Rocky Mountains; and he saw in the occupation of the northwest coast the means of promoting a trade between the valley of the Mississippi, the Pacific Ocean, and Asia. Upon the people of eastern Asia, he thought, the establishment of a civilized power on the opposite coast of America would produce great benefits. "Science, liberal principles in government, and the true religion, might cast their lights across the intervening sea. The valley of the Columbia might become the granary of China and Japan, and an outlet to their imprisoned and exuberant population. . . . Russia and the legitimates menace Turkey, Persia,

¹ *Annals of Cong.*, 17 Cong., 1 Sess., I., 416; cf. *ibid.*, 18 Cong., 1 Sess., I., 456.

² *Ibid.*, 17 Cong., 2 Sess., 246-251.

China, and Japan; they menace them for their riches and dominions; the same Powers menace the two Americas for the popular forms of their Governments. To my mind the proposition is clear, that Eastern Asia and the two Americas, as they have become neighbors, should become friends.”¹

With true western passion he denounced the relinquishment of Texas by the treaty of 1819. “The magnificent valley of the Mississippi is ours,” he proclaimed, “with all its fountains, springs, and floods and woe to the statesman who shall undertake to surrender one drop of its water, one inch of its soil, to any foreign power.” He was ready for a war with Spain, believing that it would give the United States the Floridas and Cuba, “the geographical appurtenance of the valley of the Mississippi”; that it would free the New from the Old World; and that it would create a cordon of republics across the two continents of North and South America. He pointed to the west as the route to the east—the long-sought way to India; and, in imagination, he outlined the states to be laid off “from the center of the valley of the Mississippi to the foot of the shining mountains.” “It is time,” he wrote, “that Western men had some share in the destinies of this republic.”²

¹ *Register of Debates*, I., 712.

² Meigs, *Benton*, 98, 99, cf. 91.

CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICAN SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1830-1860)

IN most periods of American history a central thread can be discovered about which are arranged the events of the times; but in the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren a variety of questions struggled for precedence. A previous writer in this series has undertaken to disentangle the political and economic controversies of that interesting time, leaving the complexities of the anti-slavery movement for this separate treatment; but it must not be supposed that in the people's minds slavery was disconnected from other economic problems which pressed upon the country, or that abolition was entirely different from the other social agitations of the period, or that even the agitators realized that slavery had the latent power of dividing the Union and bringing about civil war.

Many other sectional problems arose in that pe-

riod: the seaboard and the interior squabbled over internal improvements; east and west were sometimes in antagonism over public lands; north and south were at odds on nullification. Why should not the slavery conflict also come up and go down again like other passionately disputed questions? Why did the controversy, once fairly started, grow fiercer every year and bring in new and still more divisive issues? Why was the national government, which did its best to keep out of the controversy, drawn in deeper and deeper, till Congress became the forum of an excited discussion over slavery? These questions involve many disputed points which still perplex people, states, sections, and the Union; and the only way to answer them is to make clear the moral, social, and economic conditions peculiar to slavery which caused the rising feeling of sectional bitterness and distrust; to reconstruct a vanished civilization; to breathe the breath of life into master, slave, and abolitionist, years since in their graves.

No American in the thirties undertook to analyze and describe the standards and aspirations of his countrymen; for the social life of the period we must depend on the testimony of many observers, each of whom saw only a part. Several foreigners undertook a more general task. Mrs. Trollope's book¹ was accepted by many people in England as a typical account of a disagreeable people. This

¹ Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*.

Englishwoman in 1827 dropped into a boarding-house in Cincinnati, saw the crude side of a frontier community—the “quick feeders,” the empty-headed young women, and the tobacco chewers—and too late discovered a more refined and intellectual society in the east. Of characteristic American life she saw far less than Harriet Martineau, who came over in 1834, and in her two years’ stay travelled widely north and south. She found plenty to criticise in American life, yet appreciated the vigor and the advance of the nation.¹ A third foreigner, accepted as one of the most far-seeing observers and critics of American character and statecraft, was Alexis de Tocqueville, a Frenchman, who came over in 1831, with the express purpose of studying the institutions of the Americans, and in 1835 and 1840 published his *Democracy in America*. This was the first scientific estimate of popular government in America, going beneath the self-satisfaction of a successful republic to discover the real forces which animated it, and to find out how far it swerved from its own standards. He saw in America a big, bustling community, intensely self-conscious, yet in general sticking to its basal principle of equality of opportunity and encouraging the individual to make the most of himself.

All three of these critics noticed the lack of harmony between free democratic government and slavery, and Tocqueville foresaw a menace to Amer-

¹ Martineau, *Society in America*, passim.

ican democracy in the presence of a servile race, so that, even if slavery were to disappear, the prejudices to which it had given birth would remain; and his final generalization was that slavery, which is "unjust and by political economy is prejudicial, and which is now contrasted with democratical liberties and the information of our age, cannot survive."¹

No foreign or home-grown criticism could much affect either the vigorous growing democracy or the slave-holder; but their attention was caught by the sectional rivalry of the north and south. For this rising hostility new material was furnished by the censuses of 1830 and 1840, which revealed the fact that the free states had permanently forged ahead of the slave-holding communities in numbers: from about 2,000,000 each in 1790, the north in fifty years rose to 9,100,000 natives, besides 600,000 immigrants, a gain of 40 per cent. over 1830; while the south showed 7,300,000, a gain of 27 per cent. The main difference was the rapid birth-rate in the northeastern and northwestern states, where cheap land and variety of employment made the conditions of life easy. New York state increased in ten years by more than half a million; while Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were nearly at a stand-still.

The urban population was growing faster than the average, but most of it was in the north. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were still big, sprawling

¹ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Reeves' translation), I., 364, 388.

towns, ill-paved, faintly lighted, and miserably policed, and outside of half a dozen places the south had no cities at all; even Washington was still a dirty country town, where hogs ran at large. Charleston seemed more to "resemble a city of the European continent, at least in the style of its houses, than either Boston or New York." ¹ Savannah was a winter resort for southerners, and some people foresaw a migration of invalids and winter visitors from the north. New Orleans was the southern city *par excellence*, and the only one in the lower south except Charleston which had a lively commerce and direct relation with the old world. Most visitors were interested in the old French town, and the St. Charles Hotel, "with its large and elegant Corinthian portico, and the lofty swelling dome which surmounts it." ²

Social life in the United States was much influenced by the prosperity of the decade from 1827 to 1837, but as yet there were few men of large fortune in the country: the richest planters probably had net incomes of less than fifty thousand dollars a year; and Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, and John Jacob Astor, of New York, were almost the only reputed millionaires. In the north there were few owners of large estates divided into farms; most of the northern money came from trade and manufacturing, although the foundations of some great fortunes,

¹ Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I., 263.

² Mackay, *Western World*, II., 78.

such as the Astor's, were being laid by the purchase of real-estate in growing cities. In the north, new individuals were constantly pushing to the front, and society was in a state of flux; in the south, hereditary family dignities were better established, and it was hard to break into the charmed circle.

Social life in 1830 was not essentially different from that of 1820.¹ The most significant thing was the contrast within the same nation, and even the same state, between the traditional civilization derived from England and the robust life of the frontier: in wealth, in the appliances of trade and manufactures, in education and in literature, the Atlantic coast was closely allied with Europe; but the west and southwest was almost all frontier, and in northern New England and New York, in central Pennsylvania, and in the heart of all the southern states were large areas with a population of hundreds of thousands still in the rude conditions of the early eighteenth century.

These conditions were reflected in an impatience with orderly government. Though laws and constitutions were changed with amazing rapidity, people could not wait for the law to take its effect. No yellow journal of to-day has a more revolting list of crimes than could be made up from the press of that time.² The duello had not yet disappeared from any part of the country, and in 1838 Jonathan Cilley, a

¹ See Turner, *New West* (*Am. Nation*, XIV.), chaps. ii.-vi.

² See extracts in Brothers, *United States*, 261-385.

member of Congress from New Hampshire, provoked a quarrel which resulted in his being challenged and killed by Graves, a member from Kentucky.¹ Altercations in the legislature and in Congress were not uncommon. Elections were frequently scenes of petty civil war.² Fires were regular occasions for a fight between rival fire companies, who often let the buildings burn while they were settling their differences. In 1834 came the burning of the Ursuline Convent, within sight of Bunker Hill monument, by an anti-Catholic mob, who drove out the nuns and their pupils, with the eventual loss of two lives; and the only prisoner convicted for a share in the outrage was pardoned by the governor.³ The negroes in the northern cities, as the poorest and most friendless of the population, usually suffered from any mob, no matter what had been its original occasion; and the abolitionists came in for the most determined assaults of these lawless efforts to secure law and order.⁴ Foreign immigration, which pushed men out of previous employment, organization of strikes on a larger scale than had been known before, attempts to get political control of city governments, all contributed to this reign of misrule. Perhaps the most decisive reason for it was the weakness of the local governments: not a single city had a disciplined

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 2d series, XII., 287-292.

² Brothers, *United States*, 297-316, 422-432.

³ *Ibid.*, 503-508; Mrs. Whitney, *Burning of the Convent*.

⁴ See chap. xvii., Hart's *Slavery and Abolition*.

police force, and the state militia could not be relied upon to fight a mob.

In the south the few cities were no better governed than those of the north, and there was a greater indifference to human suffering, and brutal treatment of prisoners and other defenceless people. Alongside the strength, vigor, and hopefulness of the frontier was the uncouthness, the ignorance, the prejudice, and the latent barbarism of the man who spent his life in conquering nature and the savage.¹

This was shown in the ordinary administration of the criminal law: at a time when the Pennsylvania separate-cell penitentiary was known throughout the world as a model of humane treatment, the Georgia state-prison was a dirty place where "a piece of cooked meat was laid on the table for each prisoner without knives, forks, or plates."² An abolitionist inmate of the Missouri penitentiary from 1841 until 1845 found it an awful place of cruelty and wretchedness, in which the warden came home drunk at midnight to drag white men out of their cells to be whipped before him, and where white women prisoners were sometimes chained to the wall.³ As late as 1854 a traveller saw a pillory and stocks in a Mississippi town, and was told that "a white man had been recently stripped, whipped and

¹ See Turner, *New West* (*Am. Nation*, XIV.), chaps. iv.—viii.

² Saxe-Weimar, *Travels*, II., 20.

³ Thompson, *Prison Life*, passim.

branded with a red hot iron by officers of the law." ¹

The worst prison, however, was more merciful than lynch law. During the Revolution there was an actual Judge Charles Lynch in Virginia who took the responsibility of whipping loyalists, and gave his name to a system; but after 1830 the term "Lynch Law" came to be applied also to killings.² The one justification of such a system is that frontier communities which have not provided themselves with the machinery of the law are subject to desperate and organized malefactors, and hence the practice gained headway in the west and southwest; but in the south the thing grew while the chief reason for it was disappearing. At first applied to ordinary criminals, such as murderers and gamblers,³ it soon began to reach negroes: one was burned alive by a mob near Greenville, South Carolina, in 1825, and fifty-six ascertained cases of lynching negroes occurred between 1823 and 1860.

If one looks for the most distinctive feature of the American people in 1830, it will not be home life or social disorder, but the religious and philanthropic life and experiences of the time. Depravity and crime were common enough from end to end of the Union, and though people were squeamish about theatres and dancing, social life was in most ways

¹ Olmsted, *Back Country*, 246.

² Cutler, *Lynch Law*, 23-40, 116.

³ Stuart, *North America*, II., 169; Cutler, *Lynch Law*, 98-100,

grosser and ruder than at present; but in most communities, next to getting a living, the most important thing in life was religion, or at least religious observances. Puritanism, as a political force, was not yet dead in New England; not until 1835 was the Congregational church disestablished in Massachusetts, its last stronghold; and a severe type of piety was common throughout the country. For the ruder element, Sunday might be a period of carousal or of cock-fighting, according to the latitude, but to most respectable people it was a serious and depressing day. A morning and an afternoon sermon were the ordinary provision, combined in many communities with a "Thursday Lecture," which was a third sermon; and on Sundays and week-days was added a variety of religious exercises—prayer meetings, conference meetings, class meetings, and love-feasts. For the children a door of hope was opened in the Sunday-school, which by 1830 was making its way throughout the country; but it was not a place of perfect ease: children were expected weekly to learn and repeat not less than ten verses of Scripture and were encouraged to prodigious feats of Biblical memory. The Sunday-school book of the time was not the washed-out novel now furnished to good children, but an account of the early piety of some poor little creature, whose reward for goodness it was to be taken away from his parents untimely.

On the frontier the religious exercises were per-

force simpler and less frequent, though the camp-meeting, by its intensity, furnished plenteous excitement. It was an era of revivals: great movements of religious fervor swept over states and cities, or, as in the panic year of 1857, over the whole country, arousing and quickening thousands of persons who thenceforward took their part in the work of the churches. In this day of many interests and few enthusiasms it is hard to realize the immense force of religion and religious organizations upon the minds of the people. "Hell and brimstone" preaching was still common. Revivalists like Finney and Nettleton¹ preached the tortures of damned souls until people shrieked and dropped fainting in their pews. Hell was a place very near at hand to the unbeliever, and even the faithful might under some systems of theology "fall from grace" and lose his birthright eternally. The theological schools ran to "systems" which were a combination of philosophy, logic, and St. Paul, accounting for the beginning and end of all things; and men like the Hodges, of Princeton, or Park, of Andover, sent out a school of disciples.

Throughout the country the churches were more than religious organizations: they were ganglia of social life and intellectual influence, strengthened by fifty years of national organization. The Congregational church, the Episcopal church, and the Presbyterian church were the strongest denominations in New England, the middle, and the older southern

¹ Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, chap. x.

states; the Methodist and Baptist churches took root in the west, where indomitable men like Peter Cartwright went, riding circuit, holding camp-meetings, arousing the impenitent, comforting the seeker for salvation, and thrashing the rowdies who disturbed his meetings.¹ Most of the great churches threw off fragments which formed new sects: such were the Unitarians, seceders from the Congregational church; and several offshoots of the Methodists and Baptists. The Catholic church, maintained up to that time chiefly by descendants of English or French colonial settlers, now began to receive accessions, particularly from the Irish immigrants.

All the churches were touched by a new feeling of responsibility to mankind. Foreign missions, first suggested at Williams College in 1806, were taken up by most of the strong denominations; and in 1812 they began to organize home missions upon the frontiers, both western and southern.² The American Bible Society, founded in 1816, carried on a beneficent circulation of the Scriptures, which lasted on a large scale for more than half a century. In all these movements the south, thinly settled and in many places unable to support a paid or educated ministry, profited less than the north, although the devotion to the churches was as strong and active as in the north.

¹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 141-143, 231, 311-316.

² McMaster, *United States*, IV., 551.

The chief characteristic of the religious life of the time was its sincere effort to make religion effective, to apply the touchstone of Christ's teachings and life to all moral questions, to make individual and community correspond to the principles of Christianity. Hence, in a country where all forms of state aid to religion disappeared, church buildings were multiplied, missionaries were supported, denominational colleges sprang up. To the amiable it was an unspeakable grief that millions of people should be doomed to everlasting perdition because the gospel had not been brought to their ears; and one of the main tap-roots of abolition was the feeling of horror and responsibility that hundreds of thousands of negro slaves, because outside the fold of accredited believers, should be going down to the pit of endless punishment.¹

This passionate desire to save the perishing, as well as to raise the standards of the people, led directly to reform by legislation, such as the movement against the recognized excess in the use of intoxicating liquor, begun in 1817, enlarged by the Washington societies in 1830, and later developed into a demand for state statutes forbidding the liquor traffic altogether.² In the thirties also sprang up the Woman's Rights movement; at first directed

¹ Cf. Martineau, *Society in America*, II., pt. iv.

² Cf. Smith, *Parties and Slavery* (*Am. Nation*, XVIII.), chap. iii.

to the improvement of girls' schools and the placing of a married woman's property in her own hands, it speedily went much further, and in 1848 extended to a demand for woman suffrage.¹

One of the characteristics of all these reform movements was the feeling that each was "a cause" to which people might well devote their whole lives; and they were organized in national societies, furnished with newspaper organs, and supported by frequent meetings and appeals to the public. Between 1820 and 1840 this uneasy spirit took form in a series of socialistic communities. When the old statutes against strikes and combinations of working-men were being modified, it was an easy transition to the idea that those who worked with their hands might set themselves apart into self-supporting communities. The Shakers, founded half a century earlier, were still organizing vigorous societies which were practically mediæval convents over again. Another communistic society was that of the Rappists, at New Harmony, Indiana; their work was taken over in 1826 by Robert Dale Owen, an enthusiastic Englishman, who made a declaration in favor of free love and saw his community melt away. Later the influence of Fourier was felt in the organization of little communities called phalansteries, especially in western New York and northern Ohio; and various attempts were made

¹ On the reform movements, cf. Martineau, *Society in America*, II., chap. iv.

to found religious socialistic bodies in the far west.¹

Joseph Smith, of Vermont, in 1827, according to his account, began to receive "revelations," one of which directed him to certain golden plates which through two stones, the Urim and Thummim, he was able to read, and to translate into a book, published in 1830 as the *Book of Mormon*. It was written in Biblical style, an interminable account of the lost tribes of Israel in North America, and included many prophecies apt for the times.² First organized at Manchester, Vermont, in April, 1830, with six members, the Mormons moved in 1831 to Kirtland, Ohio, where they took the name of "Latter Day Saints." After attempting to settle in Missouri, Smith gathered in 1840, at Nauvoo, Illinois, a settlement of about fifteen thousand people. He aroused the hostility of the local authorities, and in 1844 was put in jail, and there killed by a mob. This obscure sect, founded on the materialistic basis that God is a material being, "having a body, parts and passions,"³ supported by a system of tithes, and inspired by timely revelations, had a success and endurance which makes it stand out from all other socialistic communities of the time.

At the other pole of reform through social organi-

¹ McCarthy, *Early Social and Religious Experiments in Iowa*; Perkins and Wick, *The Amana Society*; Saxe-Weimar, *Travels*, II., chap. xxi.

² Linn, *Mormons*, chap. xi.

³ Lalor, *Cyclopædia*, II., 910.

zation was Brook Farm, which sprang out of an idealism traceable in the ruggedest Puritans of the New England colonies; the force reappeared in the "transcendental" movement, partly philosophical, partly religious, and partly social, headed by Ralph Waldo Emerson. A band of enthusiastic men and women gathered in 1841 at Brook Farm, near Boston, among whom as residents or sympathetic visitors were Charles A. Dana, later editor of the *New York Sun*, Margaret Fuller, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, G. W. Curtis, Emerson, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, who in his *Blithedale Romance* idealized this community. After six years' existence a fire quenched the spirits of the Brook-Farmers, who did not know how to farm, and the institution ceased to be; though the influence of those who experienced it has remained an intellectual and moral force in New England and throughout the country.¹

¹ Wendell, *Literary History of America*, 304-310.

CHAPTER XIX

PLANTATION LIFE

(1830-1860)

ONE reason for the outbreak of the abolition movement was increasing knowledge of the conditions of slavery. Improvements in transit, closer commercial relations between north and south, and a spirit of investigation into social conditions made possible an era of travel and observation in the south by foreigners and northerners.¹ The abolitionists at home clipped items from the southern newspapers and listened to the narratives of the fugitive slave. To describe the plantation system, especially its cruel and repulsive side, was their stock in trade; while in the defences of slavery and the replies to the abolitionists the gentler side of slave-holding was held up to view.²

The visitor who expected to find a distinct type of slave countenance and person was disappointed. Some had large infusions of white blood and possessed European features; and some pure negroes

¹ See list of travellers in chap. xxii., Hart's *Slavery and Abolition*.

² On the general conditions of slavery, Hart, *Contemporaries*, III., §§ 169-173.

had oval faces, slender and supple figures, graceful hands, and small feet.¹ Nevertheless, the majority of the negroes were coarse and unattractive in appearance. Olmsted notes a group of road-making women as "clumsy, awkward, gross, elephantine in all their movements; pouting, grinning, and leering at us; sly, sensual, and shameless in all their expressions and demeanor."² Among the negroes, as among other races, there was no fixed standard of capacity or character. Some masters were never weary of telling of the faithfulness and attachment of their slaves; of their care for the children of the family; of their incorruptibility. One champion of slavery enumerates the virtues of slaves: "Fidelity—often proof against all temptation—even death itself—an eminently cheerful and social temper . . . submission to constituted authority."³ But the general tone towards the negro was one of distrust and aversion. Many masters believed that "the negroes were so addicted to lying and stealing that they were not to be trusted out of sight or hearing."⁴ At best they were thought big children, pleased with trifles, and easily forgetful of penalties and pains.

The slaves were rough and brutal among themselves. Friendly observers complained of "the in-

¹ Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 42, 85.

² Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 387; cf. Martineau, *Society in America*, I., 212-234.

³ Harper, in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 46.

⁴ Reported by Buckingham, *Slave States*, II., 87.

solent tyranny of their demeanor toward each other; . . . they are diabolically cruel to animals too, and they seem to me as a rule hardly to know the difference between truth and falsehood.”¹ Their indolence was the despair of every slave-owner, or was overcome by the strictest discipline. In many small households with few slaves and no patriarchal tradition there was constant friction and flogging; their shiftlessness, waste of their master’s property, neglect of his animals, were almost proverbial; and the looseness of the marriage-tie and immorality of even the best of the negroes were subjects of sorrow to those who felt the responsibility for them.²

Many of the negroes showed intellectual qualities, especially household slaves; and thousands of slaves learned to read and write. The art was frowned upon, for “what has the slave of any country to do with heroic virtues, liberal knowledge, or elegant accomplishments?”³ Nevertheless, the number of slaves who could read and write was probably not far from one-tenth of the whole.⁴ They were taught by kind-hearted mistresses and children of the family, who liked to give a pleasure and who disregarded the statutes against the practice; once taught, they communicated the art to one another, and secret

¹ Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 263.

² Harper, in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 38-41.

³ *Ibid.*, 36, 46.

⁴ Grace E. Burroughs, unpublished manuscript on *Educated Slaves*.

schools for the children of slaves were not unknown.¹

Some of the letters written by escaped slaves showed education and superior power of expression. Yet in this period appeared no such slave prodigies as Phyllis Wheatley, the slave poet, whose verses were kindly received by Washington; or Benjamin Banneker, the astronomer, who was a guest at the table of President Jefferson. The literary negroes were nearly all escaped slaves, whose reminiscences bear the trace of a white man's correcting pen. The one literary opportunity for the slave on the soil was the telling of folk-stories, which show a vivid power of description, an imagination which personifies the ideas of the story-teller, and a rich and unctuous humor which delights by its sudden turns of situation. The only art in which the negroes excelled was music. They have an intuitive quickness in picking up simple musical instruments, and developed, if they did not invent, the banjo; but their songs were their chief intellectual efforts; the words, simple, repetitive, sometimes senseless, were made the vehicle for a plaintive music.²

A proportion of the slaves now difficult to ascer-

¹ Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, II., 499; Burke, *Reminiscences*, 85; Douglass, *Narrative*, 32-44; Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 230, 257; Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 79.

² Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, 143-206; Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 551, 607; Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, II., 174; Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 127, 218; Douglass, *Narrative*, 13-15.

tain was employed in other than household or field tasks. A few were fishermen, employed as cooks or hands on coasting craft;¹ a larger number served as roustabouts on the river steamers, where their picturesque appearance, songs, jollity, and hard work in handling freight and fuel attracted the attention of all travellers.² Slaves were freely used in the turpentine industry, which required very little skill, and in the lumbering regions, as wood-choppers and to prepare lumber. Mining employed almost no slaves, the labor of free whites or free negroes was considered more profitable.³

In addition to these rough tasks, a fraction of the slaves and free negroes, certainly not one-twentieth of the able-bodied men, were employed in skilled trades, especially building. Nearly all large plantations had a little force of blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, and the like, and such skilled hands were frequently hired out by their masters.⁴ Most of the plantation buildings in the south were constructed by slave labor, and many of the town and city buildings. Some slave mechanics could not only build, but draw plans, make contracts, and complete a house, even hiring out their own time and employing men on their own responsibility.⁵ This small pro-

¹ Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 351-355.

² *Ibid.*, 551-564; Stuart, *North America*, II., 153; Buckingham, *Slave States*, I., 264.

³ Lyell, *Second Visit*, I., 216.

⁴ Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 104.

⁵ Letter of G. W. Steedman, of St. Louis, to the author; cf. Lyell, *Second Visit*, I., 267.



portion of industrial slaves was not much increased by slaves working in factories. The few iron furnaces in the south employed negro labor, hiring it at about two hundred dollars a year; and gangs of slaves could be found in the tobacco factories.¹ Among the few textile mills was a bagging factory in Lexington, Kentucky, and cotton mills near Huntsville and at Salada, near Columbia;² mills at Scottsville were profitably carried on by the labor of slave families owned by the corporation. De Bow, in 1852, was still hopeful of slave operatives, though only about one-fortieth of the cotton grown in the south was manufactured in the south, most of it by white labor.³

Coming back again to the plantation, a sharp distinction was drawn between two great classes of slaves—the field slaves and house-servants. The present tradition in the south is that these house-servants were universally intelligent, faithful, and devoted; indeed, there were many warm attachments between the slaves and the members of the owner's family,⁴ yet people at the time did not find them either refined or well-kept. On the Butler plantation in Georgia there was neither table nor chair in the kitchen; the boys slept on the hearth, and the

¹ Olmsted, *Texas Journey*, 19; Buckingham, *Slave States*, I., 43; Pickard, *Kidnapped and Ransomed*, 43-45; Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, II., 509.

² *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXXVIII., 509; XXXIX., 755.

³ De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, II., 112.

⁴ Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, *passim*.

women on rough board bedsteads strewn with a little tree-moss. Rooms for household servants were almost nowhere provided; either they slept in separate buildings or stretched themselves on the floor or the passages, or even in the rooms of the family.¹

One reason for the glamour cast over household slaves was that the best of the race was drawn into that service. The highest position to which a slave could aspire was to be butler or cook in the great house, where food was plenty, company enjoyable, and perquisites many.² The black mammy, who perhaps had brought up a whole family of white children—for white nurses were almost unknown—is still cherished in the minds of many southern people; but when she was young she was not always a person whose moral character influenced for good the children for whom she cared; and the maids too often had special temptations and dangers in the presence of the master and the master's sons.

The characteristic life of the negro was as a plantation laborer; he raised the greater part of the surplus product of the south and was the basis of most wealth; but he was a very unsatisfactory laborer. That a thrifty farmer like Olmsted should be scandalized at the inefficiency of the negro is not remarkable;³ but he made the same impression on his

¹ Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 23, 66.

² Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 82-84.

³ Olmsted, *Back Country*, 432; Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 10, 44-47, 99, 105, 480-483.



master, who freely acknowledged that slave labor could never be so cheap as free labor.¹ Owner after owner complained to visitors of his slaves. "In working niggers we must always calculate that they will not labor at all except to avoid punishment; . . . it always seems on the plantation as if they took pains to break all the tools and spoil all the cattle that they possibly can."²

On some plantations slaves worked from sunrise to sundown, about the hours of northern laborers then, and in addition had to cook their own meals. In many parts of the south there was task work. The task which was an average for a gang could be performed by some members of it so quickly that they got through as early as three, or even one o'clock; but it was almost impossible to increase the average result by any reward or punishment. On all plantations the women worked alongside the men, even to the extent of driving a plough. Too little attention was paid to the peculiar needs of working-women near childbirth, and lifelong injuries from overstrain among them were not uncommon. Nevertheless, the testimony of witnesses is that, in general, the day's work of a slave was considerably less than that of hired workmen in the north.³

The ordinary food of the slave was corn-bread and

¹ Harper, in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 26.

² Conversation in Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 105.

³ Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 334; Olmsted, *Back Country*, 49, 80, 81.

bacon, with sweet-potatoes and some other vegetables; a peck of meal and three pounds of bacon a week, with a little sugar and wheat-flour, was thought a suitable ration for a hand; but many slaves had a little time for cultivating their own garden-patches, kept chickens, and sometimes pigs, with an occasional opossum or even a bear from their nocturnal hunting. The ordinary rations seem to have been sufficient for keeping up health. The conditions of life were easy in the south, and none but an extraordinarily stupid or cruel master would keep his slaves down to a point where they could not do full work; and the household servants and their families, who swarmed in and out of the kitchen, never suffered. The delightful southern cooking in such households, the inimitable fried chicken, the delicious beaten biscuit, the unrealizable methods of cooking fowls, turkeys, and game, did not extend among the poor planters or the poor whites, who for the most part lived in an atmosphere of grease and frying, with corresponding ill effects upon their digestion.

The clothing of slaves was of every variety, from the smart mulatto lady's-maid, who wore the still fresh dress that had been her young mistress's, down to the pickaninny of three, five, or eight years of age, who went as nature made him. Most plantations issued coarse clothing at stated intervals. The shoes and some clothing on large plantations were made up by slaves set apart for that purpose, and

house slaves often took pride in being smartly dressed in clothing fitted to them by professional tailors.¹

The cost of maintenance of field slaves was a question much discussed, and estimates by planters varied from fifteen dollars a year, for food and clothing, up to fifty dollars;² to which should be added medical attendance, which might be five dollars a head, and overseer's wages, an average of ten dollars a head. If, therefore, the annual product of the plantation averaged seventy-five to one hundred dollars per head of all the slaves, there was something to pay for wear and tear, interest, tools, etc., and a profit; but leaving out the old, the sick, the children too young to work, and the women necessary for household and other services, not more than one-third of the slaves on a plantation could ordinarily be put into the field.

The ideal plantation had a "great house," or family mansion, with its avenue of live-oaks sweeping up to the front doors, and at a little distance the negro quarters. Here are two accounts written within six years of each other: "Each cabin was a framed building, the walls boarded and whitewashed on the outside, lathed and plastered within, the roof shingled; . . . divided into two family tenements,

¹ Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, II., 27, 112, 686-694; Adams, *Southside View*, 29-32; Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 52, 179; Burke, *Reminiscences*, 113.

² De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, I., 150.

each twenty - one by twenty - one; each tenement divided into three rooms. . . . Besides these rooms, each tenement had a cockloft, entered by steps from the household room. Each tenement is occupied, on an average, by five persons.”¹ “No attempt at any drainage or any convenience existed near them. . . . Heaps of oyster shells, broken crockery, old shoes, rags, and feathers were found near each hut. The huts were all alike windowless, and the apertures, intended to be glazed some fine day, were generally filled up with a deal board. The roofs were shingle and the white-wash which had once given the settlement an air of cleanliness, was now only to be traced by patches.”²

Slavery made real family life almost impossible, except on the smaller plantations, where one or more families of slaves were often the sole valuable asset of the owners, and they grew up alongside their masters. On the larger plantations the house slaves could bring up their own families, but marriage was subject to many difficulties. Many planters disliked to have their slaves married to slaves of their neighbors. On their own plantations owners exercised a kind of *pater potestas* over the alliances of their slaves, occasionally uniting them in such simple marriage services as, “Do you make Joe build a fire for Phillis and see that Phillis cooks for Joe and

¹ Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 422.

² Russell, *Diary North and South*, I., 212; cf. Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 44, 111, 421, 629, 659, 692, 698.



washes his clothes.”¹ The negroes preferred a marriage ceremony, and sometimes were united in form at the great house. “I had a weddin’—a big weddin’—for Marlow’s kitchen. Your pa gib me a head weddin’—kilt a mutton—a round o’ beef—tukkeys—cakes, one on t’other—trifle. I had all the chany off de sideboard, cups and saucers, de table, de white table-cloth. I had on your pa’s wife’s weddin’ gloves an’ slippers an’ veil. De slippers was too small, but I put my toes in. Miss Mary had a mighty neat foot. Marster brought out a milk-pail o’ toddy and more in bottles. De gentlemans an’ marster stand up on de tables. He didn’t rush ’mongst de black folks, you know. I had a tearin’-down weddin, to be sho’. Nobody else didn’t hab sich a weddin.”²

¶ In the nature of things, slave marriages were unstable. The negroes themselves did not feel a strong sense of obligation to their spouses, and frequently deserted one another. However, so long as there were little children, somebody must take care of them, though, inasmuch as the little negro was welcomed chiefly as adding to the wealth of his master, the ordinary beautiful relations of child and parent were difficult. On some plantations there was a nursery for the babies while their mothers were in the field. As the old slave woman expressed it, “You feel when your child is born you can’t have

¹ Pickard, *Kidnapped and Ransomed*, 153.

² Aunt Harriet, in Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 55.

the bringing of it up.”¹ As children grew up they were employed for light tasks about the house and the place, and often were made petted playthings and riotous companions for their young masters, unless, indeed, their yellow tinge suggested to some member of the household that they were “a little more than kin and less than kind.”²

One of the strong arguments for slavery was that it abolished the poor-house and provided for the infirm and the aged. Absolute abandonment of a slave by a master who had the means to provide for him was next to impossible, because he would thereby become a public charge; and the slave codes commonly provided penalties for such cases. Sometimes old slaves were protected characters;³ but there were many instances of sick and old slaves who had but a pittance for their support.⁴

On many plantations the negroes were allowed privileges, such as the right to keep bees, or to sell small articles that had been made; and occasional holidays, especially at Christmas-time, when work was sometimes suspended for several days.⁵ The right to keep truck-patches and to cultivate them was highly appreciated by the negroes. Money gifts to slaves were not uncommon, especially at Christmas, when tobacco, clothing, and molasses were

¹ Adams, *Southside View*, 84; cf. Page, *The Negro*, 174.

² “Southern Woman,” in N. Y. *Independent*, March 17, 1904, p. 586.

³ Adams, *Southside View*, 47.

⁴ Parsons, *Inside View of Slavery*, 154; Elliot, *Sinfulness of Slavery*, I., 212.

⁵ Adams, *Southside View*, 35.

often liberally dealt out, sometimes to the value of ten dollars for each slave.¹ Some slaves earned considerable sums by working for themselves on Sunday. The negro also had his recreations, picnics, and barbecues, visiting from plantation to plantation; in the cities going to shows, racing horses, and fighting.²

"Yes, honey," said a reminiscient slave, "dat he did gib us Fourth o' July,—a plenty o' holiday,—a beef kilt, a mutton, hogs, salt and pepper, an' eberything. He hab a gre't trench dug, an' a whole load o' wood put in it, an' burned down to coals. Den dey put wooden spits across, an' dey had spoons an' basted de meat, an' he did not miss givin' us whiskey to drink,—a plenty of it, too. An' we 'vite all de culled people aroun', an' dey come, an' we had fine times. Our people was so good, and dey had so much. Dyar warn't no sich people no whyar. Marster mus'n't be named de same day as udder people."³

The slaves greatly enjoyed religious meetings. Some churches had special galleries set apart for negro attendance, and there were also many separate negro churches, like the rural white churches, small and rough buildings, standing at cross-roads

¹ Olmsted, *Back Country*, 51; cf. Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 439-443, 484, 682, 695.

² Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 63, 75, 101-103, 394, 439, 630; Burke, *Reminiscences*, 92; Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 161-164.

³ Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 58.

far away from settlements. Like their poor white neighbors, any one who had a gift of exhorting and praying, thereby became a minister; and in both city and country churches there was an immense amount of the shouting which was equally enjoyed by many white congregations.

Such religious services, though sometimes imbued with a genuine religious spirit and an incitement to the better life, were more often an appeal to the emotional nature. In the camp-meetings, which were held on the same model as those of the whites, and sometimes in the same place, though in separate amphitheatres, the negro had his highest enjoyment. An eye-witness says: "In the camp of the blacks is heard a great tumult and a loud cry. Men roar and bawl out; women screech like pigs about to be killed; many, having fallen into convulsions, leap and strike around them, so that they are obliged to be held down. It looks here and there like a regular fight; some of the calmer participants laugh. Many a cry of anguish may be heard, but you distinguish no words excepting 'Oh, I am a sinner!' and 'Jesus! Jesus!'"¹

In a Christian community believing that all men had souls to save, it would have been monstrous to deny the opportunity of salvation to the African. Some plantations had little churches of their own; masters permitted prayer-meetings in the houses of negroes; elsewhere services were held at the great

¹ Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I., 309.

houses by the owners, although many people thought it dangerous.¹ Wherever attempts were made at formal religious instruction to slaves the question at once arose of their being encouraged to learn to read the Bible, though it must be presumed to be in accord with slavery. The safest way seemed to be to give the African "acquaintance with the word of God . . . through oral instruction."²

One side of the Christian religion was made sufficiently familiar to most negroes—namely, injunctions to servants to obey their masters and to be satisfied in the station to which the Lord had appointed them; yet many thousands found comfort and hope in the belief that a life of labor and privation was to be followed by a glorious eternity in heaven, although even here there was a doubt as to whether it would be the same heaven as that of the white people.

The question of a future life came home to the negro because he was so much more subject than his white brother to death; among the diseases most fatal to negroes were congestion of the lungs, yaws (a contagious filth disease), "negro consumption," and colic. Some medical authorities diagnosed also "hebetude of mind," a general breaking-down of the will and nervous force which overseers commonly supposed to be simple insolence and punished accordingly. The negroes were liable

¹ Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 267.

² Adams, *Southside View*, 57.

to intermittent fever, probably of a malarial character, and other forms of mysterious fevers. The greatest loss of life was among children, who had poor food and often most ignorant care.¹ Epilepsy was infrequent, and the census of 1840 showed only 1407 insane slaves, although there were doubtless many who were really *non compos*, but were retained on the plantation. Good plantations always had a contract doctor by the year to attend any cases that occurred; but the overseer was frequently the judge as to the nature of the disease, the remedy, and the moment when the work was to be resumed. Large estates had hospitals and separate lying-in hospitals, the character of which depended upon the humanity and intelligence of the owner.²

The death-rate of the negroes was then, as it has continued to be, much larger than that of the whites.³ Registration statistics in slavery times are incomplete except in Charleston. The very unsatisfactory figures of 1850 showed a white and free-negro death-rate of 13.6, and a slave-rate of 16.4 in the thousand. That the negroes continued to increase at about the same ratio as the whites was due to their phenomenal birth-rate.

¹ De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, II., 292-303, 315-329; Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 39, 90.

² Olmsted, *Back Country*, 77; Kemble, *Georgian Plantation*, 30-35, 121, 214-216.

³ Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, *Population*, Introduction, p. xlv.

CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL FERMENT IN THE NORTH

(1850-1860)

THE life of the people of the northern states, including under this term the border slave states, was not wholly concerned with politics and industrial activity, although profoundly influenced by them both. It had its own current, a mingled one, in which may be discerned two streams, one the continuation of the American intellectual and democratic renaissance which began after the second war with England, and the other a growth of new tendencies, arising from new social conditions and destined to alter the face of American society.

In many ways this decade may be regarded as the culmination of that outburst of national consciousness and self-assertion which transformed politics in the days of Andrew Jackson. Democracy now ruled unchallenged in public life and thought, the democracy, that is, of Jefferson and Jackson, which stopped short of including the negro, however much it emphasized the equality of the white man. By this time the states had completed the remodelling of their constitutions, and only a few serious changes

were left to the years after 1850. Nearly everywhere state offices, including the judiciary, had been made elective, terms had been shortened, qualifications other than manhood and residence abolished, and the final decision in matters of supreme importance in the public eye, such as the permission to charter banks or the extension of the suffrage, left to popular referendum.

In federal politics, state rights enjoyed supreme prestige, receiving the tribute not only of the south but of northern statesmen and political organizations. In Congress, adherence to a strict construction of the constitution was a commonplace of speeches on all subjects, and stood as the approved principle of deciding all public questions, at least in theory. By the judiciary, also, the doctrine of state rights was treated with respect and solemnity, and only a few individuals in any branch of the federal service ventured to employ the political conceptions of the Federalists or of the older generation of Whigs. The same Jacksonian democracy continued to appear in the attitude of the United States towards foreign countries, as illustrated in the bold words of Webster and Marcy and Huelsemann and in the circular on diplomatic costume.

By the year 1860, Jacksonism in politics had triumphed throughout the north and west. The Republican and Democratic organizations, which confronted each other, differed in no respect of machinery or control. Each was fully democratic

in structure and leadership, and relied upon the same appeal to the sentiments and interests of the masses which had carried Jackson to victory in 1828 and were now universal.¹

The last stronghold of conservatism fell in the north when the Whig party collapsed under the excitement of the anti-Nebraska campaign, and the tumultuous, parvenu organization of the Know-Nothings arose on its ruins. The aristocracy of the "Cotton Whigs" remained excluded from politics, a class of cultured, conservative gentlemen who disliked slavery and were loath to see it extended, but who disliked radicalism, hard words, and bad manners still more, and were unable to overlook these qualities in the new anti-slavery organizations of the Know - Nothings or the Republicans. "I deplore the passage of the Nebraska act," said Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, "but I honestly believe that Northern rashness and violence have been the main instruments in accomplishing its worst results. . . . Anti-slavery agitation has introduced a strain of vituperation and defamation into our discussions which is perfectly unendurable"; and again: "I have an unchangeable conviction that intemperate anti-slavery agitation has been a source of a very large part of the troubles by which our country has been disturbed."²

In the world of thought the years between 1850

¹ Ostrogorski, *Political Organization*, II., 92-111.

² Winthrop, *Memoir of Robt. C. Winthrop*, 181, 189, 193.

and 1860 marked the flood-tide of the literary movement which began thirty years before. With the exception of Poe, who died in 1849, and Cooper, who died in 1851, nearly all the writers who first created American literature were at their prime. Within these years the New England poets produced some of their most enduring and popular works. Longfellow published the "Golden Legend," "Hiawatha," and "Miles Standish"; Whittier, although immersed in the anti-slavery cause, issued *Songs of Labor* and made a collection of his poetical works, as did Bryant, likewise an anti-slavery leader. In 1857 a new periodical, *The Atlantic Monthly*, was established as an especial representative for New England culture by Lowell, aided by Emerson, Holmes, and others; and soon the "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table" was enlivening its pages, together with essays by Lowell, the editor, and poems and essays by Emerson. At the same time, Hawthorne reached the summit of his genius in the *Scarlet Letter* at one end of the decade and the *Marble Faun* at the other. Apart from these writers, but none the less a product of the period, stood two others: Thoreau, whose *Walden*, in 1854, was the last word of democratic individualism, and Whitman, whose *Leaves of Grass*, in 1855, carried the doctrine of democracy to the pitch of mysticism. Beside these older writers stood younger ones just coming into prominence—Bayard Taylor, George William Curtis, Mrs. Stowe, and a number of lesser

lights who seemed destined to be worthy successors in poetry or prose.

In other literary lines the same fertility of American genius appeared. Bancroft, in 1852, resumed, after a pause of twelve years, his *History of the United States*, Hildreth completed his *History of the United States* a little later, Prescott wrote his *Philip II.* and Irving his *Life of Washington* at the same time, and three new historians of great distinction appeared—Parkman, whose *Conspiracy of Pontiac* came out in 1851; Motley, whose *Dutch Republic* began in 1856; and Palfrey, whose *New England* was issued in 1858. Other writers entered the field of political economy—Bowen in 1856, and Bascom and Henry C. Carey in 1859; Lieber wrote his *Civil Liberty and Self-Government* in the earlier years of the period, and Woolsey his *International Law* in the later ones. In the regions of abstract thought, Wayland's *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy* appeared in 1854, and Bushnell's *Nature and the Supernatural* in 1858. In all fields of literary effort it seemed as though the flowering-time of American thought and scholarship had arrived. The reading public of the ante-bellum world, not distracted by any great flood of cheap, entertaining, ephemeral reading-matter, enjoyed a far purer intellectual life and were habituated to a more purely literary culture than was the case at a later time.

Side by side with the culmination of the literary renaissance of the first half of the century came the

full development of the intellectual restlessness which for a generation had been producing a succession of reform movements of numberless kinds. Revolutionary radicalism pervaded all fields, in religion, politics, and morals, making of the ten years before the Civil War an era of agitation scarcely paralleled before or since. Socialism of the earlier, communistic type was seen to be showing signs of weakness, and most of the Fourierist or similar experiments started in earlier years now broke down; but in its place came a new revolutionary socialism from Europe, founded by German immigrants. More characteristic of the period was the advocacy of absolute personal independence and freedom from any constraint in mind or body, by the individualist, who carried his logic of liberty to the point of complete anarchism—the “Come-outer,” as he was generally styled in those days.

Probably the most aggressive reform movement at this time, and certainly the most conspicuous, was the agitation for women's rights, and especially woman suffrage, which filled the place in public esteem formerly held by the abolitionists. Numbers of devoted women, burning to emancipate their sex, undertook to begin by emancipating themselves, and while attempting to enter all sorts of callings—the law, the ministry, medicine—felt also obliged to manifest their personal freedom and rationalism in other less vital but still more conspicuous ways. Short hair and the “Bloomer costume,” in the early

fifties, were adopted as signs of intellectual liberty by some, and brought upon the advocates of the movement an amount of popular ridicule and coarse abuse which no other action could have attracted. Such women as the Reverend Antoinette Brown, Dr. Lucy Stone, and Miss Susan B. Anthony were regarded by the conservative with no less horror than the irrepressible and eccentric Abby Kelly.¹

There were not lacking men to enter the women's-rights movement with equal fervor, and these, with their coworkers of the other sex, labored incessantly by lecturing and by endeavoring to participate in all sorts of meetings where women were not usually in evidence, to emphasize their rights and demand equality. Some few aberrant members of this crusade adopted the doctrine of Free Love and proclaimed a sort of logical anarchism in the relations of the sexes, making a stir out of all proportion to their numbers. Great notoriety was gained by a convention at Rutland, Vermont, on June 25, 1858, in which all varieties of reformers took part—abolitionists, spiritualists, woman-suffragists, and the like—and certain speakers made a public advocacy of the abolition of the marriage tie as a bar to human progress and the equality of the sexes.²

Radicalism in religion was now actively advocated by a host of speakers, the most prominent of whom

¹ Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, I., 57-205; Stanton, Anthony, Gage, *Hist. of Woman Suffrage*, I., chaps. vi.-viii., xiii., xiv.

² *N. Y. Tribune*, June 29, 1858.

was Theodore Parker, then at the height of his fame and influence in Boston, a man of passionate anti-slavery zeal and a genius for polemics of any kind. The craze for conventions, which made the life of the professional agitator a series of meetings with his fellow-reformers, showed itself in this field—for instance, in a convention held at Hartford, Connecticut, in June, 1858. The object of this meeting, “for the purpose of freely canvassing the origin, authority and influence of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures,” appeared so blasphemous to the conservative that it was denounced by the press of the country as an abomination, and was mobbed by the students of a neighboring denominational college, results which served only to whet the zeal of the “Free thinkers,” as they styled themselves.¹

The natural tendency was for these various reforms to blend together, from the fact that those who were radically inclined in one direction were generally favorably disposed to reforms in all others. The woman-suffragist was likely to be an advocate of temperance, abolition, and free religion, so that when conservative people lumped the entire field of reform activity under the heading of “the isms,” and spoke of the leaders as “the short-haired women and the long-haired men,” there was a certain justification. Susan B. Anthony, for instance, devoted herself almost equally to temperance, anti-slavery, and women’s rights; Garrison, in the *Liberator*,

¹ Garrisons, *Garrison*, III., 383.

while especially interested in abolition, sympathized warmly with every other reforming movement and was a leader in the woman's -rights field. There were, of course, many persons, especially in the west, whose anti-slavery action was not the result of iconoclastic radicalism, as was shown by the numerous "Christian Anti-Slavery Conventions" held in Ohio, Indiana, and elsewhere in 1850 and later, but the substantial unity of all reformers as radicals was the popular impression of the time.

Besides this ultra-individualistic and rationalistic free thought, there sprang up certain social movements arising from a mystical or superstitious craving. Millerism had had its day in the previous decade, but spiritualism, founded in 1848, rapidly grew to conspicuous proportions and seemed to be filling the place of a distinct religious sect. Its adherents, like all the other reformers, held conventions or conferences in numerous places, published spiritualistic papers, and claimed vaguely to number one or two millions of adherents.¹ The American reverence for congressional action was strikingly shown when, in 1854, the members of this sect presented a petition to the Senate, signed by fifteen thousand names, asking for the appointment of a commission to investigate the phenomena of "occult forces." Senator Shields, of Illinois, presented the memorial in a speech of some length, but in the debate which followed no senator proved so courageous as to de-

¹ Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism*, 303.

fend the cause of table-tipping and spirit-rapping, and after many humorous and some contemptuous comments, and a facetious attempt to refer the memorial to the committee on foreign affairs, it was allowed to drop. Spiritualism remained without the governmental sanction its adherents hoped to secure.

Practical philanthropy went hand-in-hand with radical agitation. It was in these years that the great work of Dorothea Dix, in securing the reorganization and proper construction of asylums for the insane, was carried through. It comprised one almost tragic disappointment; for when, in 1854, after years of effort, Miss Dix finally succeeded in getting through Congress a bill granting ten million acres of public lands for the purpose of aiding the states to care for their insane, President Pierce vetoed the gift as unconstitutional on grounds of strictest state-rights doctrine. Nevertheless, the results accomplished by Miss Dix's campaign were epoch-making in the history of public charity, especially in the south and west.¹

All these reforming and radical movements, it should be said in conclusion, found their outlet not only in special publications, but on the lecture platform, an institution then in its prime. Over the new railways into all parts of the country travelled the foremost literary men and the most eloquent reformers of the time, spreading the gospel of intellectual enlightenment in all quarters. Such men as

¹ *Tiffany, Dorothea Dix*, 135-200, 307-330.

Holmes, Lowell, Emerson, and George William Curtis were active alongside of prominent clergymen like Henry Ward Beecher, temperance reformers, abolitionists, and whatever other speakers local "Lyceums" were ready to listen to. In this way the public, not yet absorbed in magazine reading, found its intellectual stimulus, and the national sentiment and new culture of the first half of the nineteenth century its expression.

Side by side with the culmination of the national expression in government, politics, and intellectual life, began the development of social habits due to the new industrialism of the decade—the railways, the telegraph, and the influx of California gold. The new business-man came on the stage, his whole nature concentrated in competitive production or distribution. He filled the cities, accompanied the railroads into all corners of the north, and turned into wealth-getting the keenness and vigor of an unexhausted race. Then, too, appeared the new figure of "Labor," of the man who expected always to live as wage-earner, and joined with his fellows to protect his interests. The first national unions of local labor organizations all date from this time, and the first great railway strike was that on the Erie road in 1857.¹

Still another new social element strikingly apparent in this decade was that of the Irish and German immigrants who came to this country, trained in

¹ Ely, *Labor Movement*, 57-60.

no school of Jacksonian democracy, but bringing the traditions of a defiant and bitter revolutionary republicanism. The presence of large numbers of brawling, ignorant, clannish Irish, not long enough escaped from sordid poverty to have any conception of American ideals, made an indelible impression upon Americans at this time. Scarcely less unwelcome to the conservative was the spectacle-wearing, beer-drinking, Sunday-despising German peasant or petty townsman. The Know - Nothing movement sprang from a real sense of alarm and dislike felt by dwellers in city and country towards these alien arrivals. The literature and the periodicals of the fifties are filled with allusions to the Irish and Germans, betraying the mingled tolerance and aversion felt towards their habits. The types of the Irishman and the German, fixed in American humor and on the American stage, take their origin from these years. The Germans, however, brought with them a higher grade of education and culture, and from the start the more educated among them rose rapidly to positions of prominence in politics and society.

Now all these new types and social elements were cast into a rapidly changing world. The extension of railways and telegraphs to cover the north and penetrate the south introduced the factor of speed into business to a degree never experienced before. It became worth while to hurry when competition was possible, not only from near at hand but from a distance. Speculation offered glittering chances of

wealth, to be gained in a few years where formerly half a lifetime would have been inadequate. The California gold craze simply exaggerated the current conviction that the day had come when it was possible for any one to acquire riches quickly. The time was at hand when American society was to be transformed.

Already, in these years, observers noted the development of a pleasure-seeking class. The new wealth had to be spent, and the American world of the years before 1850 had not been called upon to create fashionable amusements.¹ Those who had leisure found no athletic, hunting, or rural traditions to fall back upon, except in the south, where, indeed, the newly rich were not so often found. Baseball, soon to be the national game, was scarcely heard of, and the first intercollegiate boat-races appeared only in 1852. Yachting was known in the harbors and along the coasts, but was not the sport of any large numbers. The winning of the Queen's Cup by the *America*, in 1851, marked an epoch in international racing, but it was not as yet the object of widespread interest. It was a continual comment of foreign observers and domestic critics that Americans did not know how to play or exercise, and in consequence were dyspeptic, physically weak, and nervously irritable.²

"Society" had to find diversion in dancing, eat-

¹ Rhodes, *United States*, III., 80.

² See evidence collected in *ibid.*, III., 66.

ing, drinking, smoking, the theatre and opera, and the national sport of horse-trotting, with its accompanying betting. Even the great "resorts" which appeared at this time—Newport, Saratoga, Sharon Springs—with their immense hotels, existed simply for the purpose, according to observers, of enabling people to herd together and drink, smoke, flirt, and dance the more easily.¹ Of course, this was at the same time arousing a genuine love for the beauties of wild nature, and the public which read Starr King's poetic descriptions of the White Hills, in 1859, was inspired by the same feelings which have since turned American society into the country and the wilderness every summer and autumn. Still, it was an era of bad taste in Europe in things social, and the influence of the court of Napoleon III. was stronger with American fashionable society than was the example of the staid court of Victoria and Albert.

It was a common observation that display and attempts at individual luxury preceded public comfort. The cities of the north grew greatly in size, but they continued to be poorly paved and lighted and ill-supplied with water. Street-cars, however, in this decade first began to replace the slow-moving omnibuses hitherto customary, and their growth was rapid.

The altered conditions of American life were reflected in the newspaper press of the country.

¹ Rhodes, *United States*, III., 75-82; Curtis, *Lotus-Eating*, 105-123, 166-176; *Harper's Mag.*, department called "Easy Chair," 1857, 1858.

Hitherto the chief reason for newspapers had been to direct political activity; but now this function was to a large degree superseded by the task of furnishing commercial information to business-men and farmers. Already the zeal for promptness and priority of news made possible by the railway and telegraph, and appreciated in a hurrying community, had been introduced into the newspaper world by Bennett and the *New York Herald*. Although the paper whose standing depended upon its news and its advertisements and not upon its editorial page was in existence, the term "news" had not yet been extended to include all discoverable local items, trivial as well as significant. That phase of journalism was still in the future.

The editorial page, however, still held an important place, particularly in an epoch of such political excitement, and the leading editors of the great city dailies and weeklies were men of a prominence and weight not enjoyed by their successors. Greeley, of the *Tribune*; Raymond, of the *Times*; Bryant, of the *Evening Post*, in New York; Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican*; Medill, of the *Chicago Tribune*, and their fellows, made the ante-bellum press a real power in the political world. The Washington correspondent, also, held a position of greater influence then than later, notably such men as Pike, of the *Tribune*, and Simonton, of the *Times*.¹ Among these journalists the most influential, without doubt,

¹ Hudson, *Journalism*, 431, 540, 618.

was Greeley. Eccentric in person, a curious compound of shrewdness and vanity in temperament, he was gifted with a power of expression in terse, vivid English, marked by a downright earnestness of anti-slavery feeling which made his editorials and letters more popular than the utterances of any other single man. The *Tribune* was the political Bible of anti-slavery Whigs, and, later, of Republicans throughout New York and the middle west.

A striking result of the greater intensity of the new industrial life, together with the lack of physical health, was the growth of excitability in the Americans of the time. Waves of popular frenzy were no new thing, for they had been known since the Stamp Act, but at no time were they so prevalent as in these years, and they were now accompanied by popular crazes of a non-political character to an extent which filled conservative people with bewilderment. In 1850-1855 the temperance movement swept the country in the Maine-law agitation; then came the anti-Nebraska fever, followed by the Know-Nothing riots and excitement, the Kansas crusade, and the Lecompton struggle, each of which rose, raged, and declined from exhaustion. In 1857 the financial panic swept like a fire across the land, and it was followed in 1858 by a wide-spread religious revival, the last one to arouse all sections of the north.

Hitherto unknown manifestations of excitement were called forth by the visits of interesting foreigners in these years, notably by Jenny Lind, in 1850,

and Kossuth, in 1852. These did not rest ultimately upon any especial musical susceptibility in Americans nor on any absorbing sympathy with Hungary, but on the love of being excited, of uniting with one's neighbors in experiencing a thrill in a fashion later commonly termed hysterical. Ampère, who saw the Kossuth excitement, remarked: "Je vois que dans cette ivresse, entrain pour beaucoup ce besoin d'excitation, de manifestations bruyantes, qui est le seul amusement vif de la multitude dans un pays où l'on ne s'amuse guère. Ce vacarme est sans conséquence et sans danger."¹

These years were times of ferment—with the continued radicalism of the past, the flowering of the literary genius of the land, the sweep of popular crazes, and above and around all the zest and fascination of the new industrial and agricultural outlook. In spite of the Kansas question, the slavery problem was not the only nor even the most important subject in popular interest, except for brief periods; and it was never regarded at any time as anything but an unpleasant interruption except by the professed agitators. Nevertheless, in these years the attitude of the northern people towards the south underwent a distinct change. In 1850 the great majority of voters were not ready to let their dislike of slavery draw them into any permanent antagonism towards the south, and they were eager to welcome any fair compromise. But by 1860 the re-

¹ Ampère, *Promenade en Amérique*, II., 53.

peal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas struggle, and the controversy over the Lecompton constitution had stirred up a deep sectional feeling, based on anger at what was considered the perfidy and aggressiveness of the south in seeking to establish slavery in free territory.¹

This irritation had now hardened into a fixed purpose to force slavery to remain in the regions which it already occupied, and to eliminate pro-slavery men from their control of the central government. This feeling, it is clear, could not be considered aggressive, for the idea of interfering with slavery in the southern states was hardly entertained. It was rather defensive and sectional, directed against the encroachments of the "slave power," or, as it was frequently called, the "slaveocracy." The current northern feeling was that unless the south were checked it would insist on protection to its slaves, not only in the territories, but in the free states. It was widely, although erroneously, believed that Toombs had boasted that he would live to call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill monument, and the Dred Scott decision was looked upon as a step in the process of making slavery national.

The people of the north did not like the slaveholders, did not understand them, and had no desire to do so. The peculiarities of the southern code of manners created a belief that they were a race of

¹ For earlier phases of this subject, see Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (*Am. Nation*, XVI.), chaps. xvi.-xix., xxi.

faithless, blustering, cruel slave-drivers; and the figure of a Henry Clay, once popular at the north, was hidden behind that of a "Border Ruffian." An influence of incalculable effect in establishing this opinion of slavery and slave-owners was the novel of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Published in 1852, it achieved an unparalleled success from the start, edition after edition being absorbed by a public gone wild over the humor and the tragedy of the work. Although based in every detail upon facts, it was not, as enraged southerners kept insisting, a fair representation of the slave system; but it was not intended so to be. It showed in literary guise the possibilities of horror and tragedy rooted in the institution, and it fixed in the north, as no other one influence did, the popular ideal of slavery. In her astonishment at the popular enthusiasm, Mrs. Stowe wrote: "The success of what I have written has been so singular and so unexpected . . . that I scarce retain a self-consciousness and am constrained to look upon it all as the work of a Higher Power, who when he pleases, can accomplish his results by the feeblest instruments." ¹

By 1860 the institution of slavery had few defenders at the north, and some of the foremost Republicans, such as Lincoln and Seward, did not hesitate to express sentiments which a few years earlier would have been regarded as ultra-radical. Undoubtedly thousands now agreed with them that

¹ Stowe, *Stowe*, 166.

the contest with slavery was an irreconcilable one, and must end eventually with its extinction; but the actual, technical abolitionists still remained few. The small group led by Garrison, Phillips, and others had taken the form of a sect, united by a creed and judging all others by their beliefs. This creed was a complete logical structure whose fundamental assumption was that slavery was a sin, and that the duty of every man was to do his utmost to destroy it. The feature upon which the abolitionists laid great weight, was getting rid of personal responsibility. "Our duty is first personal, in regard to ourselves," wrote Garrison. "We are to see to it that we make no truce with slavery either directly or by implication, . . . that our hands are clean and our consciences without condemnation."¹ This was done by bearing witness against it, refusing to obey any laws recognizing it, rejecting the authority of the federal government which recognized it, refusing fellowship with any slave-holder or any person who upheld slavery, and by advocating the separation of the free from the slave states.

The programme of the ultra-abolitionists was without any relation to actual events, and could not, in the nature of things, attract ordinary people, hence they remained few in number, taking consolation, as every small sect must do, in a certain complacency over their own doings. Throughout the years 1850—

¹ Garrisons, *Garrison*, III., 444; cf. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (*Am. Nation*, XVI.), chap. xii.

1860 Garrison continued to criticise the course of public affairs, mercilessly applying his standards of unbending abolitionism to every man and giving scant sympathy to even those hotly engaged on the northern side in the slavery controversy so long as they did not act from purely anti-slavery motives. The distrust which Chase felt towards Douglas, when he found him opposing the Lecompton constitution, Garrison and Phillips applied to Chase himself. Yet, although this attitude of unyielding radicalism did not win converts, the abolitionists did exercise a very great indirect influence, since their steady repetition of their one idea kept it before the public, and even their extravagances—such as the public burning of the Constitution by Garrison, in 1854—served to force home their detestation of the slave system and of the men who maintained it. Their idealization of the negro, whom they held to be equal in all respects to the white man, found little sympathy in the north, but their hatred of the slave-owner struck a responsive note, and from their denunciations of the slave system undoubtedly grew the popular idea of slavery as always and everywhere monstrous and disgusting.

The altered feelings of the north on the subject of “southern aggressions” showed themselves not only in the formation of the Republican party, but in numerous other ways equally exasperating to the south, as they were intended to be. The fugitive-slave law, at first reluctantly accepted, was later the

object of continual attack and obstruction from the northern people, moved partly by sympathy for the fugitives, but equally by a desire to thwart the pursuers. The Underground Railroad continued its activity with increased popular sympathy and assistance.¹ Rescues or attempted rescues of slaves were numerous, among the most famous being the attack on a federal court-house, in May, 1854, by a Boston mob, in a vain attempt to free Anthony Burns, an arrested fugitive. The return of this prisoner was carried out under protection of state and federal troops, in the presence of a groaning, hissing crowd, and in later years every Massachusetts agent in the rendition was relentlessly hunted from political life. In Wisconsin, the same year, occurred the Booth case, which has already been referred to,² and in 1858 the so-called Oberlin - Wellington rescue, where a crowd of northern Ohio men, including a professor and students from Oberlin College, rescued a fugitive and were tried under the provisions of the act of 1850, until the vigorous interposition of the state authorities forced the federal government to drop the prosecution.³

In a still more aggravated form, this determination to block the law in every way led to the enactment, by many states, of so-called "Personal Liberty

¹ Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, 318-320, 342.

² See Smith, *Parties and Slavery* (*Am. Nation*, xviii.), chap. xiv.

³ Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, 327-336, App. B; McDougal, *Fugitive Slaves*, 43-52, 124-128.

Laws." These statutes, most of which were passed after the Know - Nothing and Republican parties gained control, prohibited the use of jails to confine fugitives, forbade state judges or other officers to aid in their capture, authorized the issue of writs of *habeas corpus* in case of arrests of alleged fugitives, provided for a jury trial, sometimes ordered state attorneys to act as counsel for fugitives, and imposed heavy fines and imprisonment upon any person kidnapping a free man.¹ These laws certainly came near to nullifying the United States Constitution, and their moral effect at the south was tremendous. They showed, as nothing else could, to what an extent sectional feeling had progressed, and announced to the south that the fugitive-slave law could be executed only over the opposition of the northern people.

By 1860, therefore, the north, busily occupied with industrial expansion of all kinds, with reforms and with intellectual ferments, was growing all the time more and more conscious of its hostility towards the south and of its own strength to render that hostility effective.

¹ Johnston, "Personal Liberty Laws," in Lalor, *Cyclopedia*, III., 162; McDougal, *Fugitive Slaves*, 67-70; Parker, *Personal Liberty Laws*, 3-51; cf. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (*Am. Nation*, XVI.), chap. xix.

CHAPTER XXI

SECTIONALISM IN THE SOUTH

(1850-1860)

IN the years immediately preceding the Civil War, the characteristic civilization of the southern states reached its culmination, making of the slaveholding area a region with most of the features of a separate national consciousness, a community little affected by the industrial, intellectual, and emotional influences which were transforming the north.

The economic basis of southern society was now the culture of cotton, and, to a less degree, of corn, rice, and sugar, commodities which could be produced with profit by slave labor. The railway expansion of the south was mainly subsidiary to the agricultural industry, carrying cotton to the ports of export, and also bringing from the north those manufactured articles which the south was as unable to produce in 1860 as in the previous century. "Whence come your axes, hoes, scythes?" asked Orr, of South Carolina. "Yes, even your plows, harrows, rakes, ax and auger handles? Your furniture, car-

pets, calicos, and muslins? The cradle that rocks your infant to sweet slumbers—the top your boy spins—the doll your little girl caresses—the clothes your children wear—the books from which they are educated . . . all are imported into South Carolina.”¹

With negroes as a large part of the real capital of the south, and the plantation as the normal form of investment, the social and economic structure of the slave states was almost impervious to the forces which were beginning to prevail in the north. The planter aristocracy remained at the top of the scale, its numbers small in comparison with the total population. In 1860 it was estimated that there were only 384,753 slave-holding individuals, and of these less than one-half had more than five slaves and less than one-tenth as many as twenty.² Capital tended as always to concentrate in few hands. Associated with these were the professional classes and the financial element, which, although far less important than the similar class at the north, played an active part in the southern economy. Below these came the body of southern whites, some of whom were engaged in the relatively few railways, steamers, mills, and factories of the south, but most of whom were small farmers with a status shading off into that of the steady accompaniment of slavery, the “poor white trash.” But few of the slave states received any of the flood of German and Irish immi-

¹ *Charleston Courier*, April 18, 1855.

² Ingle, *Southern Side-Lights*, 362.

gration, since the lack of opportunity for free labor kept all such out of the cotton belt.¹

Nothing had taken place since the eighteenth century to alter the ideals of the southerners, except the fact that in the interior and Gulf states the aristocracy of family was replaced by a more flexible aristocracy of wealth.² Although many large slave-owners were of humble origin, there yet existed within the planter class a sort of democratic fellowship, interrupted only by a few conservatives of the type of the Virginian who observed that "Whigs knew each other by the instincts of gentlemen."³

Social and political leadership rarely passed from the hands of this upper class. A career like that of Andrew Johnson, who, from being an illiterate tailor, rose to be twice elected governor of Tennessee and later senator, was altogether exceptional; and such a book as Helper's *Impending Crisis* was an anomaly.⁴ Helper's thesis was that slavery depressed the poor whites and enabled the slave-owners to profit at their expense; but whatever his hopes may have been of turning the non-slave-holding whites against the planter capitalists, he could not arouse them. Politics were an affair of leaders, who, when they differed, appealed to the voters, but did not constitute a class of office-brokers or machine organizers.

¹ For details, cf. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (*Am. Nation*, XVI.), chap. v.

² Brown, *Lower South*, 45.

³ Wise, *End of an Era*, 58.

⁴ Helper, *Impending Crisis*, 123-132, 149-154.

The southern gentleman, in the years just before the war, stood as the product of an aristocratic society, a figure almost without a parallel at the north. No wealthy manufacturers, railway promoters, capitalists, or business-men challenged his supremacy, and the whole of southern society took its tone from this master. The ideals of the southern gentleman were simple, and to the northerner scarcely comprehensible.¹ His interests were few—cotton, negroes, family life, neighborhood affairs, and politics. Education, at one of the not very flourishing southern colleges or at one of the larger northern universities, was confined to a small number. The personal ideal of the southerner was usually expressed by the word "chivalry," a term comprising the virtues of gallantry towards women, courtesy to inferiors, hospitality and generosity towards friends, personal courage, and a sensitive "honor."

The code of the duel was still a sacred part of southern social standards, not usually defended in public, but practically exacted in private, and based upon ideals of "honor" not easily understood outside the society which upheld them. Jennings Wise, for instance, the son of Governor Wise, of Virginia, a man of "unaffected piety, naturalness, sincerity, and gentleness, a lover of children and so amiable that he never had a personal quarrel," felt himself obliged, when editing the *Richmond Enquirer*, to force a duel upon any one who criticised his father.

¹ Ingle, *Southern Side-Lights*, 29-32, 39-46.

The result was no less than eight "hostile encounters" in two years, which the public regarded as "natural and manly, evincing chivalry of the highest order."¹ Sensitiveness to insult obliged the southerner to seek "satisfaction" of some kind; and when he encountered men who recognized no code, but answered him with equal harshness, he felt obliged to employ personal violence, as in the case of Brooks and Sumner. This affair was strictly in accord with southern standards, which approved instant vindication of injured "honor" by violence of any kind.² Murderous threats and shooting affrays, which struck a northerner with horror, were of everyday occurrence in many southern communities; and nothing stood more in the way of mutual comprehension. The refusal of the northerners to fight when challenged made the whole section appear to southerners as cowardly and ignoble, while the unrestrained anger and ready violence of the southerner impressed northern men as the brutality of a partly civilized bully. Yet the home life and domestic tenderness and courtesy of the same fiery southerners who fought duels and uttered threats were of a charm unimagined by their northern opponents, but proved by the testimony of innumerable witnesses.³

Upon such a society the intellectual upheaval of

¹ Wise, *End of an Era*, 90.

² Von Holst, *United States*, V., 331; Olmsted, int. to Gladstone, *Englishman in Kansas*, pp. xviii., xix.

³ Trent, int. to Olmsted, *Seaboard States* (ed. of 1904), I., p. xxv.; Page, *Old South*, 143.

the time made little or no impression. The business hustle and hurry of the new industrial life faded away as one entered the land of cotton, and so did the other features of northern life of the decade. Orthodoxy in religion prevailed undisturbed at the south, and "isms" and reforms remained unknown there except when brought by such energetic invaders as Dorothea Dix, whose crusade for asylums for the insane stands almost alone in the south of that time. Spiritualism, communism, radicalism, all failed to grow in the south, and were almost as abhorrent to the planters as abolitionism itself. The crazes which swept the north stirred slight echoes there. Jenny Lind and Kossuth found less ecstatic hearers, the Maine law failed to convulse politics, and the Know-Nothing movement lacked spectacular features. Upon their superior sanity the southern journals often congratulated their readers in language not to be matched outside the Tory utterances of Europe. "In the North," said the *Richmond Enquirer*, "every village has its press and its lecture room, and each lecturer and editor, unchecked by a healthy public opinion, opens up for discussion all the received dogmas of faith. . . . The North fifty years ago was eminently conservative. Then it was well to send Southern youth to her colleges. She is now the land of infidelities and superstitions and is not to be trusted with the education of our sons and daughters."¹

¹ *Richmond Enquirer*, January 1, 1856.

As a consequence, the south entered but feebly into the literary renaissance of the times, and in years when the New England school of writers was in its prime still struggled along with but the tenderest shoots of a local literature. Except William Gilmore Simms, whose prolific genius was still pouring out poems, romances, dramas, political articles, and miscellaneous productions, there was scarcely a southern writer known beyond a narrow circle. Southern magazines found it almost impossible to live, for the southern people were never great readers, and, when they subscribed to any periodical, commonly took *Putnam's*, *Harper's*, or the *North American Review*. Only the *Southern Literary Messenger* managed, with difficulty, to survive until the Civil War.

As the growing divergence between the sections progressed, indignation was often expressed at the dependence of the south upon "abolitionist" publications, and fervent appeals were made for the support of distinctly southern writers and periodicals. "So long as we use such works as Wayland's *Moral Science*," wrote one irritated southerner, "and the abolitionist geographies, readers, and histories, overrunning as they do with all sorts of slanders, caricatures and blood-thirsty sentiments, let us never complain of their use of that transitory romance [*Uncle Tom's Cabin*]. They seek to array our children by false ideas against the established ordinances of God."¹ But declamation and resolutions were fu-

¹ *De Bow's Review*, May, 1856, p. 661.

tile to create a literature, and the south continued to neglect its own authors and publishers.¹

The only change brought by the years 1850-1860 to the southern states was an intensification of their sense of common interests and common ideals resulting from the incessant slavery controversy. That southern sectionalism which existed from the formation of the Union now developed into something approaching closely to a real national consciousness, evinced in innumerable ways; and the term "The South" was as familiar in congressional and other speeches as "The United States" or the name of any single state, and carried an equal political significance. One form assumed by this new self-consciousness was that of a sectional "patriotism" and exaltation at the expense of the antagonistic north. Over southern society, people, manners, intelligence, courage, religious life, scenery, natural resources, and future prospects flowed an unceasing current of praise. "We expect true refinement of mind in America," said one writer, "to be born and nurtured and to exist chiefly in the Southern portions of the Union. . . . The pride of the North is in her dollars and cents, her factories and her ships. . . . The pride of the South is in her sons, in their nobleness of soul, their true gentility, honor, and manliness. . . . Both

¹ Trent, *Simms*, 102, 128, 163; Trent, *Southern Writers*, 65; Page, *Old South*, 57; Miner, *The Southern Lit. Messenger*; *De Bow's Review*, XXIV., 173 (January, 1858).

have their gratification, the one in her dollars the other in her sons." ¹

Beneath all this self-assertion, however, existed a growing feeling of uneasiness which became strongly felt in this decade. Although De Bow, in his periodical devoted to southern economic and social interests, argued that the south was more prosperous than the north, and a chorus of writers and speakers echoed the comfortable belief,² the fact remained that the north was undeniably outstripping the south in numbers, industrial wealth, and political power. In the effort to arouse the community to a sense of its danger, and to discover remedies for southern backwardness, an interesting series of Southern Commercial Conventions was held, with annual sessions after 1852. These met in various cities, and debated such projects as a southern Pacific railroad and a direct southern steamship line to Europe, besides many other subjects of interest to planters. As the Kansas struggle progressed, these meetings reflected more and more the political passions of the time, until, by 1860, they became the debating-ground of southern radicals and conservatives, and the time of the sessions was taken up with the consideration of resolutions on the slave-trade and the slavery situation in general. In 1859 the radicals went so far as to carry through resolutions evidently intended to pave the

¹ *Southern Lit. Messenger*, XX., 295 (May, 1854).

² Cleveland, *Stephens*, 98.

way for the transformation of the Commercial Convention into a permanent body, with members elected by the people, capable of taking political action.¹ In a practical way these meetings accomplished nothing: something more than resolutions and fiery speeches was needed to enable the south to keep pace with the north.

The movement for southward expansion, already referred to, was another result of the southern uneasiness over the growing preponderance of the north. The popularity of Walker, the filibuster, the demand for Cuba, and the attempts to aid Cuban insurrection, all were based on a feeling that only by an increase of territory suitable for slave economy could the south hold its own. "Would I perform my duty to God, to my country, to humanity and to civil freedom," asked Quitman, of Mississippi, "were I to refuse to devote a portion of my life to such a cause? . . . Our destiny is intertwined with that of Cuba. If slave institutions perish there they will perish here. . . . Our government can not or will not act. We must do it as individuals."²

Another scheme for aiding the south was the re-opening of the slave-trade, an idea which rapidly gained favor in these years; for in no other way could the planters be relieved from the high price of slaves, the population of the south be increased,

¹ *De Bow's Review*, 1853-1859, especially June, 1858, and July, 1859.

² Claiborne, *Quitman*, II., 207.

and the economic future be made certain. The agitation began after 1850, the advocates of the reopening of the trade taking high ground. A writer in *De Bow's Review* classed it "among those mysteries which, however repulsive to fastidious eyes, are yet, in the hands of God, the instruments of Man's progress."¹ The full argument was thus stated by E. A. Pollard, in 1857: "There are many minds among us firmly convinced that the Slave Trade is almost the only possible measure, the last resource to arrest the decline of the South in the Union. They see that it would develop resources which have slept for the great want of labor, that it would increase the area of cultivation in the South six times what it is now, that it would create a demand for land and raise its price, so as to compensate the planter for the depreciation of the slaves, that it would admit the poor white man to the advantages of our social system, that it would give him clearer interests in the country he loves now only from simple patriotism; that it would strengthen the peculiar institution; that it would strengthen our representation in Congress, and that it would revive and engender public spirit in the South."²

The demand was first made publicly by Governor Adams, of South Carolina, in 1856; and on various occasions committees of the South Carolina and Louisiana legislatures reported in favor of reopening

¹ *De Bow's Review*, December, 1854.

² *Charleston Mercury*, February 17, 1857.

the trade. In 1856 the Southern Convention was defeated, 18 to 67; five years later the vote changed to 49 to 19 in favor of reopening. The subject was also brought up in Congress in 1859, although the south, as a whole, was not ready to seek such radical action. But the high prices for negroes and the eagerness of southerners for freed slave labor led to a great growth of slave-trading in these years. Scores of slave-ships sailed from New York to the coast of Africa, and hundreds of negroes were landed in the southern states. The federal government was apathetic, and the laws seemed impossible of execution. In forty cases tried in the ten years preceding 1856, only one sentence was obtained, the southern juries almost uniformly refusing to convict. In 1859 the yacht *Wanderer* landed over three hundred negroes in Georgia, but in spite of the widespread knowledge of the affair no one was punished.¹

The desire for the reopening of the slave-trade was part of a significant change which took place in southern sentiment in these years regarding the institution of slavery. For twenty years southerners had undergone the unremitting and merciless attacks of abolitionists upon the slave system, and upon themselves for not instantly abandoning it; and as time went on the chorus of censure steadily

¹ DuBois, *Slave-Trade*, 180 et seq.; Spears, *Slave-Trade*, 195 et seq.

increased, until it seemed to them as though the entire north was united in holding them guilty in the sight of God and man. Yet the two beliefs most deeply rooted in the mind of every southerner were, that he was an honorable, Christian gentleman, and that the slave system was absolutely necessary to his prosperity. Some positive answer was necessary to the abuse by the anti-slavery critics. It was not enough to retort with anger and contempt, for the European world stood committed to the northern side, and its opinion must be dealt with. Accordingly, in this decade there was developed a new political and social philosophy, supplanting all previous half defences and apologies, which boldly asserted that slavery was a positive good, the only sure basis for society, religion, and the family, while liberty was a danger to the human race.¹

The new defenders of slavery swept away at the start the old, traditional doctrines of the Revolution, denied the natural equality of man or the existence of any natural right to liberty, and argued that only when two unequal races existed together, with the inferior in subjection to the superior, was true happiness possible to either and the highest civilization attainable by the superior race. To prove this they pointed to the miserable condition of the laboring classes in manufacturing countries, insisting with never-tiring emphasis that the slaves were infinite-

¹ Merriam, *American Political Theory*, 227-246; cf. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (Am. Nation, XVI.), chap. x.

ly better off. "Those countries," said one writer, "must retain their form of society and try to make the best of it. But we contend that ours is better. We assert that in all countries and at all times there must be a class of hewers of wood and drawers of water who must always of necessity be the substratum of society. We affirm that it is best for all that this class should be formed of a race upon whom God himself has placed a mark of physical and mental inferiority."¹ This doctrine had been elaborated before 1850, by Calhoun and others, but it now became the accepted creed of the defenders of slavery, proclaimed by clergymen, congressmen, and newspapers in the teeth of the Republicans.

On the actual condition of the slaves in the years 1850-1860, an opinion may safely be formed, for at no time was the institution subjected to more careful study. Travellers observed it continually, sometimes laudatory in their remarks, oftener the reverse; abolitionists amassed evidence of its atrocities, and defenders painted pictures of its idyllic sides. All other investigations were cast into the shade by the work of Frederick Law Olmsted, who published in this decade the results of extensive journeys undertaken by him in the slave states for the sake of seeing slavery as it was in the daily life of the people. Olmsted was no friendly critic of the "peculiar institution," and he acknowledged himself that his books were "too fault-finding"; but if allowance be

¹ *Southern Lit. Messenger*, XXXVII., 93 (July, 1858).

made for this personal element, the observations create such a picture of the slave-holding civilization as can be found nowhere else. The real economic failure under the apparent prosperity of slavery and the depressing effects of the system upon the whites were the lessons of the book. Gleaned from every sort of source, from planter, poor white, tavern loafer, slave, or free negro, the old south painted its own portrait in his pages.¹

The feeling of the southern people towards the north grew in these years into its final form. Before the Kansas-Nebraska excitement it was customary for all but the extreme followers of Calhoun to believe that the abolitionists—by which was meant all who in any way attacked or criticised slavery—were in a small minority, and that the national feelings of the northern majority would maintain harmony. After the rise of the Republican party, it became the conviction of a majority of southerners that the north, as a whole, was fundamentally wrong in its view of southern institutions, and could not be relied upon to do justice. The self-defensive sentiment behind northern anti-slavery feeling was not grasped, and the course of politics since 1850 was regarded as an unprovoked series of aggressions upon southern rights and southern feelings. “We are arraigned day after day,” said Davis in the Lecompton debate, “as the aggressive power. What southern senator, during this whole session, has attacked any portion

¹ Trent, in Olmsted, *Seaboard States* (ed. of 1904), I., p. xxxiii.

or any interest of the north? In what have we now, or ever, back to the earliest period of our history, sought to deprive the north of any advantage it possessed? . . . The whole charge is that we seek to extend our institutions into the common territory of the United States. . . . You have made it a political war. We are on the defensive. How far are you to push us?"¹

Since, to the southern mind, slavery was right, common fairness required that it should have at least an equal share in the federal territories and that its supporters should not be proscribed; hence the Free Soil and Republican programme was wholly unjust and unfair. Further, the duty of returning fugitive slaves was part of the common Constitution, and the refusal to do so, whether expressed by mobs, by "personal liberty laws," or by mere inertness, was equally unpardonable. Still further—and here lay the chief ground of offence in the people of the north—the inhabitants of the free states were no more qualified to judge of the rightfulness of slavery than were the slave-holders themselves, and their persistent hostility to the "peculiar institution" was an affront to the "honor" of the entire south.

If northern injustice were to continue, there could be but one possible result — secession. Calhoun's spirit dominated southern thought after his death as it never had done during his lifetime; his *Disquisition on Government* was studied in southern colleges

¹ *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 619.

and became the political Bible of the younger men of the time, until the doctrine of the indivisible sovereignty of the separate states was an ingrained part of the southern creed.¹ If the states were sovereign, disunion would not be revolution, but a mere dissolution of partnership, and ought to involve no more trouble than making an equitable division of common property and common liabilities. No state, moreover, was bound to adhere to the partnership any longer than was profitable or honorable; and the other partners had no right whatever to object to its withdrawal, still less to prevent it.

By 1859 the time was close at hand, in the opinion of hundreds of thousands of southern men, when the partnership of north and south would cease to be of further mutual profit. The north could not be driven into a course of justice by reason, and compulsion through commercial boycott, although often discussed, was felt to be inadequate. Moreover, as the years went on the sense of social repulsion between southern aristocrats and northern "mechanics," existing since the foundation of the country, increased in bitterness until the planters of 1860 talked as if the "Yankee" were the incarnation of vulgarity and depravity. De Bow curtly defined "Yankees" as "that species of the human race who foster in their hearts, lying, hypocrisy, deceit and treason"; elsewhere he discovered the source of the

¹ Merriam, *Am. Political Theory*, 278-283; McLaughlin, in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, V., 484 (April, 1900).

social degeneracy of the north: "The basis, framework and controlling influence of Northern sentiment is Puritanism—the old Roundhead, rebel refuse of England which . . . has ever been an unruly sect of Pharisees, . . . the worst bigots on earth and the meanest of tyrants when they have the power to exercise it. They have never had the slightest conception of what constitutes true liberty and are incapable by nature of giving or receiving such."¹

The undeniable ferment of the north in thought and in reform, taking, as it did, many extravagant, although harmless shapes, made the section appear in southern eyes reeking with irreligion, blasphemy, and radicalism. Southern defenders were forever drawing comparisons between the "poverty, crime, infidelity, anarchy and licentiousness of Free Society and the plenty, morality, conservatism, good order and universal Christian faith of Slave Society."² To the strictly orthodox southern planters, New England seemed a land of abomination, and abolitionists appeared bloody-minded fanatics, longing to cause negro insurrection, with massacre and unmentionable horrors.

So matters stood in 1859: mutual misunderstanding, mutual dislike and contempt; on one side a fixed purpose to exclude the other from control of the federal government; on the other an equally fixed purpose to secede if ousted. For years the

¹ *De Bow's Review*, August, 1857, July, 1858.

² *Richmond Enquirer*, December 7, 1855.

control had been kept in the hands of the south by a combination in the ranks of the Democratic party of northern conservatives with southern moderates; but now this coalition seemed to be shaken. Upon the outcome of the election of 1860 hung the decision; in the minds of most southern leaders the result was already determined. The Union must come to an end.

CHAPTER XXII

SPIRIT OF THE NORTH

(1864-1865)

A RENOWNED historian of the Civil War, after describing the colossal labors of the men in authority as it progressed, declares that one reading with care the official records finds it hard to understand how Lincoln and Stanton, in particular, were not crushed by the weight of responsibility, which came to its severest between May and September, 1864.¹ The Stanton of the records he finds in marked contrast with the Stanton of tradition—a patient, tactful, forbearing, as well as resolute and indefatigable character, not the violent and harshly arbitrary man whom many have portrayed.² In these months the burden told heavily upon Lincoln: his boisterous laugh, says his private secretary, was less frequent; the eye grew veiled through brooding over momentous subjects; he became reserved, and aged with great rapidity. There is a solemn contrast between two life-masks, one made in 1860, the other in the spring of 1865; the earlier face is that of a

¹ Rhodes, *United States*, V., 237.

² Gorham, *Stanton*, II., pt. viii.

strong, healthy man, full of life and energy. The other is "so sad and peaceful in its definite repose that St. Gaudens insisted at first it was a death-mask. The lines are set as if the living face, like the copy, had been in bronze; the nose is thin and lengthened by the emaciation of the cheeks; the mouth is fixed like that of an archaic statue—a look as of one on whom sorrow and care had done their worst without victory is on all the features: the whole expression is of unspeakable sadness and all-suffering strength." ¹

As the year 1864 closed, for the president there was great relief. The victories made final success certain; the election, while continuing his power, assured him that he possessed overwhelmingly the confidence of the country. His immediate environment had also become more congenial: he had subjected the vehement Stanton; he had no longer to bear the ill-nature of Chase; in the place of Bates there stood a warm personal friend, Speed. Indeed, but two of the secretaries of 1861, Seward and Welles, remained in the cabinet. In particular, Lincoln's relations with the secretary of state were close and harmonious. If at first Seward depreciated the president, that disposition passed after a few months of intimacy, and he worked on loyally in his subordinate place. Any chagrin he may have felt

¹ John Hay, in *Century*, XIII., 37 (November, 1890). The two masks lie together in the Lincoln case at the National Museum in Washington.

at not attaining the highest honor, he suppressed; and there is little evidence that he cherished any further ambition. As to foreign affairs, he declared in these days with truth that "things were going finely." Seward might honestly feel that his own courage and force had helped powerfully to the general success. It is pleasant to read his hearty appreciation of his great chief. In a speech after the election he said: "Henceforth all men will come to see him as you and I have seen him—a true, loyal, patient, patriotic, and benevolent man. . . . Detraction will cease and Abraham Lincoln will take his place with Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, among the benefactors of the country and of the human race." ¹

In truth, in Europe things were now going well for the Union. As to the great powers, Russia was always friendly: France, in spite of the unfriendliness of Napoleon III., had not broken with us. In Mexico, Maximilian, after May, 1864, was personally engaged in establishing his dynasty, and seemed for the moment successful; but already there were signs, both North and South, that the Monroe Doctrine was not forgotten, and would some day be vindicated.

By the spring of 1865 all danger of European interference in our quarrel ceased. The Confederate agents were in the background, discouraged,² while

¹ Seward, *Works*, V., 514.

² Callahan, *Diplomatic Relations of the Confed.*, chap. viii.

Charles Francis Adams enjoyed a consideration such as no previous American minister had reached. A different tone was heard in the utterances of statesmen and men of letters. The voices of John Bright, W. E. Forster, and Richard Cobden more and more prevailed. At an earlier period Grote had been supercilious, Dickens unsympathetic, Carlyle roughly denunciatory, E. A. Freeman and Gladstone prophets of our disruption who were not saddened by what they foretold. But there were now wiser men, none more so than Sir Charles Lyell, the geologist, always a friend to the Union, who showed, with candid recognition of the merit of the vanquished, his strong sympathy with the victors. The best English opinion is expressed in one of his letters, March 12, 1865, in which he declares that the Confederates have certainly shown the power of an aristocracy to command and direct the energies of the millions; "Englishmen may feel proud of the prowess of the southern army, in which there was not that large mixture of Celtic and German blood found on the Northern side." He expressed confidence in the rapidity with which the wounds would be healed, and believed that the discipline would bring about in the people of the United States habits of subordination to central authority, which they needed: he expected the large national debt to strengthen the Federal power, which formerly could not control the states; had the Union been dismembered, there would have been endless wars, more activity than

ever in breeding slaves in America, a renewal of the African slave-trade, and a retarding of the future course of civilization. The result, therefore, Lyell deemed worth all the dreadful loss of blood and treasure. As to the internal condition of the states, he felt sure of their rapid and successful development. "Whatever it may be for the rich, I certainly think that for the millions it is the happiest country in the world."¹

When the spring of 1865 opened, although a heavy shadow of death darkened almost every household, and a public debt of three billions gave rise to apprehension, the North was cheerful and buoyant. For the North was not only victorious, but prosperous though her ocean carrying-trade was nearly destroyed through events which have been described, there was a heavy export and import business despite the high tariff. Legitimate trade with the South was resumed, and intercommerce was extraordinarily active. While there was no large increase of railroads during the war period, in 1865 38,078 miles existed in the North, almost all in good order and fully employed.² Symptoms of the spirit of enterprise in railroad building were an act of 1862 for the construction of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads; and consolidations were beginning in the eastern lines. As regards appliances, the air-brake, vestibuled trains, dining-cars,

¹ Letter to T. S. Spedding, Mrs. Lyell, *Sir C. Lyell*, II., 397.

² *Am. Annual Cyclop.*, 1865, p. 742.

and palatial compartment-cars were undreamed of; high speed could be maintained only at great risk; roads were commonly single-tracked, and the strap-rail had not entirely disappeared. But the railroad stood fully developed as a powerful instrumentality, already superseding the canal, the wonder of the preceding generation, and promoting transit and traffic to an extent never before known. While the land was thus crossed and recrossed, the internal waters, the Great Lakes, and the navigable streams abounded in sailing and steam craft.

The requirements of the time caused these rapidly developing facilities to be taxed to their utmost. The condition of the farmers in the war period from the first was good. In 1861 the crops were heavy, with a strong European demand.¹ Though the exports of food stuffs dropped off, the vast requirements of the war immediately strengthened the market: there was quick and good sale for every crop and animal which the farmer could produce. Manufactures were no less stimulated: had ships been plenty and Europe clamorous, nothing could have been spared for export, for forge and loom were quite absorbed in satisfying the home needs. The laborer fared worse than the farmer and manufacturer. While wages rose during the war, till in 1865 they stood in the ratio of 183 as compared with 100 in 1861: prices rose far more, being 217 at the end as compared with 100 at the beginning, a law working

¹ Schouler, *United States*, VI., 327.

here which economists have noted.¹ House-rents, too, though advancing, kept no pace with the price of food and clothes.

The natural resources of the country were exploited as never before. The northwestern forests fell quite too rapidly; petroleum, made available in 1859, underwent an extraordinary development in the sixties. The gold discoveries of 1849 in California were followed by finds of the same metal in Colorado in 1858 and in Montana in 1861. Meantime, in 1859, silver was found in Nevada; in the same period became known the stores of copper and iron in the region south of Lake Superior. The country was not so busy in the camp as to be unable to make prize of this newly revealed wealth.

In the stimulation of the processes of life, a quick utilizing took place of inventions lately wrought out, or now for the first time announced. McCormick's reaper of 1834, Elias Howe's sewing-machine of 1846, Goodyear's vulcanized rubber of 1839, the daguerreotype of 1839, the Hoe rotary press of 1847, the electric telegraph of 1835—all these were improved and made widely available, as could hardly have been the case among quieter conditions; while in devising and perfecting breech-loaders, repeating-arms, and rifled bores, ingenious men were very active. In 1841, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, ether had first been used as an anæsthetic by Morton; what beneficent possibilities were in-

¹ Taussig, in *Yale Review*, II., 244 (November, 1895).

involved in this discovery became fully evident in the field-hospitals of both armies.

Religion grew more earnest in these years. The Protestant denominations, large and small, though divided in the political dispute, lost no vigor. The zeal of the ministers and congregations grew fervent. The men recruited the armies and made sacrifices at home; while the women, using such agencies as the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, gave practical expression to their devotedness. The Catholics were not behind, sending out a multitude of our best soldiers and sailors, while patriotically active at home. Religious activity pervaded, too, the camps; each regiment had its chaplain, usually a worthy man, whose ministrations were earnest and met a response sincere and wide-spread.

As to education, in the North the common school was universal, though sometimes lacking appliances and skilled teachers.¹ In the country districts it was often open only for short terms; and the teachers—farmers' sons or daughters with small training—were not the best. But things were improving. Horace Mann died in 1859, a self-sacrificing enthusiast whose writings and labors were having a marked effect. Normal schools, well established in New England, and fast making their way farther west, were fixing new standards of instruction and management, and effort was made

¹ Mayo, *History of Common Schools* (U. S. Bureau of Education, in preparation).

to profit by the experience of other lands. In the cities were high schools, sometimes open to girls, who, however, usually found a chance for nothing but superficial training. For higher education, denominational colleges abounded, rarely largely attended, usually struggling with poverty, and often esteeming orthodoxy of belief to be more important than sound and broad learning. Of universities only Harvard and Yale had the four faculties of divinity, law, medicine, and science, in addition to the academic course; and neither had more than five hundred and fifty students.¹

Nevertheless, a new spirit was abroad; the elective system was making its way; endowments were becoming more liberal; and a beginning had been made of the system of state universities which at the present time crown so impressively our public educational system. Among these new institutions the University of Michigan had an honorable pre-eminence. Since their support came from public funds, it was manifestly unfair that the advantages offered, too costly to be duplicated, should be enjoyed by only half the youth. Hence the co-education of the sexes, which had been successfully tried in several places, notably at Oberlin, Ohio, was generally adopted among state universities, that of Iowa leading the way. In 1862 Congress made

¹ Schœuler, *United States*, VI., 336; for earlier conditions of education, see Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (*Am. Nation*, XVI.) chap. ii.

possible the establishment in each state of a college of agriculture and the mechanic arts: these, combined as they usually were with the state universities, imparted strength and made certain for all who desired it an education thoroughly practical. In the pressure of the war the higher institutions were much affected. At the West it sometimes happened that they were closed, the students, led by their teachers, departing in companies to the front;¹ where they remained open the attendance fell off, the spirited young men finding study difficult in the prevailing martial excitement. J. W. Sill, a brave young general killed at Murfreesboro, J. J. Reynolds, a good commander of a division, J. L. Chamberlain, J. A. Garfield, J. M. Schofield, and many more officers of distinction, were by profession teachers.

At the end of the war the impression was general that extravagance and corruption prevailed to an extraordinary extent; but a survey from this distance may give assurance that the evils were not excessive or inexplicable. Many became suddenly rich, for the newly opened mines, petroleum fields, the vast government contracts, gold gambling, the chances for speculation afforded by fluctuating prices, gave unusual opportunity to the adroit and rapacious. The money made easily was often spent unwisely. Lavishness was manifest in houses, equipages, and apparel, of women no less than men. But conscience was active, and societies were formed for

¹ Cox, *Military Reminiscences*, I., 33.

the discouragement of luxury, the spirit prevailing finding expression in Julia Ward Howe's

“Weave no more silks, ye Lyons looms,
To deck our girls for gay delights!
The crimson flower of battle blooms,
The solemn marches fill the nights.

“Weave but the flag whose bars to-day
Drooped heavy o'er our early dead,
And homely garments, coarse and gray,
For orphans that must earn their bread!”¹

In the transactions of the government involving enormous amounts some corruption was inevitable, but it was resisted manfully, the fighters often imagining a depth and extent of depravity which did not exist. A congressional committee in 1863, of which Senator James W. Grimes, of Iowa, was chairman, made an appalling report as to waste and peculation in the management of the army and navy;² and Roscoe Conkling, of New York, in a speech of April 24, 1866, fiercely criticised the provost-marshal-general, J. B. Fry. When the statistics were prepared and studied, the charges of Grimes proved overdrawn. In the vast business of the department of the paymaster-general, B. W. Bryce, it was found that from July 1, 1861, to October 31, 1865, \$1,029,239,000 had been disbursed—the steals amounting to less than half a million, the expense

¹ Julia Ward Howe, *From Sunset Ridge*, 5.

² Salter, *Grimes*, 229 et seq.

— of disbursement to \$6,429,600, the aggregate being less than seven-tenths of one per cent. of the amount disbursed.¹ In the department of the quartermaster-general, Montgomery C. Meigs, the amount appropriated was about \$1,200,000,000, and the showing was equally good, the business being in fact a model of efficient administration.² As to the department of the provost-marshal-general, Fry replied convincingly to his accuser. In the country at large the bounty and substitute brokers, who became numerous towards the end of the war, were generally bad men, and Fry had favored their suppression. Fry's vindication may be regarded as conclusive.³

It is enough to confute the charge that wholesale corruption prevailed in the management of these tremendous responsibilities to recall the names of the men who stood as heads: Lincoln, Stanton, Chase, Fessenden, Welles, and his assistant, G. V. Fox, Grant, Meigs, Ingalls, Fry—the country has never had in great positions men of higher ability and integrity. That some trace of carelessness and unfaithfulness should occur in the conduct of such affairs was inevitable in view of human limitations, but the need for apology is small indeed in presenting the story of these mighty labors.

Side by side with these men in official station may properly be mentioned citizens in private station,

¹ *War Records*, Serial No. 126, p. 204.

² *Ibid.*, p. 254.

³ J. B. Fry, *Conkling and Blaine-Fry Controversy in 1866*.

who without pay rendered indispensable services—men like J. M. Forbes¹ and Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, who from pure patriotism were government agents, or became bounty-brokers in the hope of redeeming a work thought necessary but so often made discreditable, and scattered broadcast patriotic literature; Henry Whitney Bellows and Frederick Law Olmstead, of New York, unpaid heads and organizers of the Sanitary Commission; and James E. Yeatman, of St. Louis, well portrayed by Winston Churchill, in *The Crisis*, as “Mr. Brinsmade.”

The years of the Civil War fell well within the golden period of American literature, which reflects vividly the wrath, the anxieties, the sorrow, and the exultation of the time. In American letters the humorist is never absent, and the newspapers of the war-time sparkled with witty effusions that, rough though they sometimes were, demolished evils more effectively than attacks sober and labored. “Artemus Ward” (Charles F. Browne), who was willing to sacrifice on the altar of his country all his wife’s male relatives, would deserve notice if for no other reason than that he was a source of much refreshment to Lincoln. It is a strange bracketing, but the “High-handed Outrage in Utiky” will go down the ages with the Emancipation Proclamation.² The president took great delight also in the deliverances of “Petroleum V. Nasby” (D. R. Locke), as

¹ Mrs. Hughes, *John Murray Forbes*, chaps. viii.—xviii.

² Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms* (*Am. Nation*, XX.), 215.

did also James Russell Lowell, who declared that "Hosea Biglow" might be spared from the field since a satirist of such vigor had entered it. The letters from the "Confedrit X Rodes" told powerfully against the Copperheadism of the West. Not far behind these was Robert H. Newell, "Orpheus C. Kerr" (Office Seeker), who, as the name suggests, found other political abuses than disloyalty, and sometimes hit out in other fields than politics. An effort being made to obtain a new national hymn, "Orpheus C. Kerr" published "The Rejected National Hymns," the alleged contributions to that end of our better-known poets. His parody of transcendental phraseology was thought amusing forty years ago.

FROM R—LPH W—LDO EM—R—N

"Source immaterial of material naught,—
Focus of light infinitesimal,
Sum of all things by sleepless Nature wrought,
Of which the normal man is decimal,—
Refract, with prism immortal, from thy stars
To the stars blent, incipient, in our flag,
The beam translucent, neutrifying death,—
And raise to immortality the rag!"

Often brilliant and genuinely poetic, also, were the poems of John G. Saxe, a Democrat.

In a different class were J. G. Holland, Bayard Taylor, and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, strong and loyal workers for the Union and for freedom, although the latter certainly had rendered her most memorable service in the preliminary years. Of the

great pulpit and platform orators, Henry Ward Beecher gave much help in England as well as at home; while Thomas Starr King, according to the belief of some, saved California to the Union. Robert Collyer in Chicago, Phillips Brooks in Philadelphia, E. H. Chapin in New York, were constant in their zeal. The eloquence of Wendell Phillips, on the other hand, tended rather to embarrass than assist. William Lloyd Garrison felt that with the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation his work was accomplished, and retired from the foreground. The utterance of these days which especially possesses the hearts of men is the address at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863, of Abraham Lincoln.

A few ballads and lyrics took deep hold of the people, their lines becoming household words. Such were the "Fight in Mobile Bay," of H. H. Brownell, "Sheridan's Ride," by T. Buchanan Read, and Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Of fiction there was nothing more noteworthy than Edward Everett Hale's *Man Without a Country*, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December, 1863. This weird and touching story, wellnigh perfect as an example of literary art, written for the temporary purpose of affecting sentiment at the time when Vallandigham was a candidate for governor of Ohio, deepened sensibly northern patriotism in general, and ever since has been an inspiring object-lesson for Americans.

As to our great writers, scientists, and intellectual

leaders, most of whom were in the fulness of strength in the war period, some specimens of their declarations may well close this chapter. Nathaniel Hawthorne, perhaps the chief of all, died in 1864, apparently not much concerned as to the success or failure of the government. While consul at Liverpool, some years before the war, he wrote to his friend, Horatio Bridge: "At present we have no Country. . . . The States are too various and too extended to form really one country. New England is really quite as large a lump of earth as my heart can take in. Don't let Frank Pierce see the above or he would turn me out of office, late in the day as it is. I have no kindred with or leaning towards the abolitionists."¹ He was touched by the uprising in 1861, but only for a moment. February 14, 1862, he writes: "Frank Pierce came here and spent a night. . . . He is bigoted to the Union, and sees nothing but ruin without it; whereas I (if we can only put the boundary far enough south) should not much regret an ultimate separation."²

In this indifference, Hawthorne stood alone among his compeers. The poets were all fervently loyal. The uncombative nature of Longfellow withheld him from fiery expressions, but he watched anxiously the alternations of the struggle, now depressed, now rejoicing—with an earnest recognition of the nobility of such things as Lincoln's Gettysburg address.³

¹ Woodberry, *Hawthorne*, 281.

² *Ibid.*, 284.

³ S. Longfellow, *H. W. Longfellow*, II., 395.

He was a close friend of Charles Sumner, who always sought Longfellow when he could be absent from the Senate; to give comfort to that strenuous champion was good service, had Longfellow done nothing more. Holmes, both in verse and prose was always spirited and outspoken, in his lighter vein hitting the enemy and the backward patriot at home with sharp ridicule, but most impressive perhaps in the hymns which he wrote in times of special stress. Whittier was strong, aggressive, upon occasion denunciatory, emancipation naturally kindling his spirit; "Barbara Frietchie" is a chivalrous acknowledgment of an opponent's virtue. Bryant, with lyre for the most part laid aside, sometimes overimpatient at the slow progress of freedom, nevertheless made the *New York Evening Post* a source of inspiration.

John Lothrop Motley, minister at Vienna, made a good forecast of events when he said, January 27, 1864: "I have settled down into a comfortable faith that this current year is to be the last of military operations on a large scale. The future will be more really prosperous than the past has ever been; for the volcano above which we have been living in a fool's paradise of forty years, dancing and singing and imagining ourselves going ahead, will have done its worst, and spent itself, I trust, forever."¹

Emerson, just after the second election of Lin-

¹ To his mother, John Lothrop Motley, *Correspondence*, III., 3.

coln, congratulated his countrymen, "that a great portion of mankind dwelling in the United States have given their decision in unmistakable terms, that a nation cannot be trifled with, but involves interests so dear and so vast that its unity shall be held by force against the forcible attempt to break it. What gives commanding weight to this decision is, that it has been made by the people sobered by the calamity of the war. They protest in arms against the levity of any small or any numerous minority of citizens or States, to proceed by stealth or by violence to dispart a country."¹

Agassiz pushed in the darkest days of the war, in 1863, the foundation of a National Academy of Sciences and his own Museum of Comparative Zoology, alleging "that the moment of political danger may be that in which the firm foundations for the intellectual strength of a country may be laid." In proof he cited the founding, immediately after the prostration of Prussia, in 1806, of the University of Berlin, by the advice of Fichte, the philosopher, "which has made Berlin the intellectual centre of Germany."² But while thus devoted to science, Agassiz was not indifferent to the welfare of his adopted country. He wrote to an English friend, August 30, 1862: "I feel so thankful for your words of sympathy. It has been agonizing week after week to receive the English papers and

¹ Cabot, *R. W. Emerson*, II., 610.

² Mrs. Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz*, 510.

to see there the noble devotion of the men of the North to their country and its Government, branded as the service of mercenaries. Your warm sympathy I needed the more, as it is almost the first friendly word I have received from England, and I began to question the humanity of your civilization.”¹

Lowell was especially fervent and indefatigable in his patriotism. He wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* the second series of the *Biglow Papers*, in which his pathos, humor, and invective were at their best, and applied marvellously to the support of the cause he loved. At the end of 1864 he greatly mourned the death of three noble nephews killed in battle.

“Rat-tat-tat-tattle through the street
 I hear the drummers makin’ riot,
 An’ I set thinkin’ of the feet
 That follered once and now are quiet. . . .
 ’Tain’t right to hev the young go fust
 All throbbin’ full o’ gifts and graces,
 Leavin’ life’s paupers, dry as dust,
 To try an’ make b’lieve fill their places.

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“My eyes cloud up for rain; my mouth
 Will take to twitchin’ roun’ the corners
 I pity mothers, tu, down South,
 For all they sot among the scorners.
 I’d sooner take my chance to stan’
 At Jedgment where your meanest slave is,
 Than at God’s bar hol’ up a han’
 Ez drippin’ red ez yourn, Jeff Davis!”²

¹ Mrs. Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz*, 577.

² *Biglow Papers*, second series, No. 10.

With Charles Eliot Norton, Lowell undertook the editorship of the *North American Review*, infusing into that long-established and respected publication a new life and loyalty. "Everything looks well," he writes to Motley, December 28, 1864. "I think our last election fairly legitimizes democracy for the first time. . . . It was really a nobler thing than you can readily conceive so far away, for the opposition had appealed to every base element in human nature, and cunningly appealed too."¹

¹ John Lothrop Motley, *Correspondence*, III., 63.

CHAPTER XXIII

SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH

(1864-1865)

TAYLOR, one of our best authorities, declares that the generals at the head of the southern armies resigned all hope of success "after the campaign of 1864 had fully opened. . . . The commanders in the field whose work and position enabled them to estimate the situation, fought simply to afford statesmanship an opportunity to mitigate the sorrows of inevitable defeat."¹ A Confederate soldier of lower rank, George Cary Eggleston, asserts, too, "we all knew from the beginning of 1864 that the war was hopeless."² Though that may have been the opinion of the army, they did not confess it to themselves, but, as we have seen, faced with great resolution the forces of the Union. The civil officials, too, made no sign of want of confidence in a good issue, and the tone of the Richmond press was bold: it gravely discussed in the fall of 1864 how to treat the discomfited Yankees when the war is over.

¹ Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 197.

² Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 235.

No man in the Confederacy faced the situation with more courage than Jefferson Davis, and when in 1865 many whose hearts till then had been stout gave up hope, he worked on with unabated confidence and zeal. If the labors of Lincoln were great, those of Davis were no less arduous; but now while Lincoln was on the point of final victory, and the resources and confidence of a great people were poured out to him as the recognized chief agent in bringing about success, the cause which Davis upheld was failing fast, and condemnation more often than praise was visited upon him.

While what the Confederate soldiers did in the field was as a rule well done, the military administration and commissariat were very defective. Since the advent of Moltke, military writers have had much to say about the importance to a fighting nation of a proper general staff;¹ such a body the southern army certainly had not—a want which was offset by a similar lack in the northern army. It must be admitted that Davis was a poor judge of men: he looked with disfavor upon officers of the merit of Beauregard and Joe Johnston, while he esteemed Braxton Bragg, adopting him as his adviser when Bragg stood discredited with all others. It must also be laid upon him that Colonel L. B. Northrop was retained as commissary-general. It is a Napoleonic maxim that an army moves upon

¹ Henderson, *Science of War*, 69, 401; C. F. Adams, *Hist. Soc. of Mass., Proceedings*, series 2, xx., 159.

its belly; that it shall be fed is vital, but according to much testimony from southern men the management of the commissariat was execrable. The resources, so scanty as compared with those of the Union, were clumsily and wastefully handled, and red-tape strangled efficiency to a disastrous extent. Eggleston portrays in many pages the resulting hardships to the soldiers. Stationed in South Carolina, the force of which his battery was a part was in the midst of rice-fields, furnishing excellent food. It had been determined, however, to feed the army on bacon and flour, which must be brought hundreds of miles; the supply failing through badness of transportation, there was no thought of having recourse to rice, but the troops were put on short rations, being thus made to hunger in the midst of plenty.¹

In the first Bull Run campaign red-tape and bad judgment neglected to use the meat and grain of the valley of Virginia, close at hand, accessible and likely to fall soon into the hands of the enemy, but depended rather upon stores brought with cost and inconvenience from Richmond. So it was at the beginning; and far towards the end of the war, January 5, 1864, we find Lee writing to Northrop a letter in which his dissatisfaction with the commissariat is very apparent: no beef had been issued to the cavalry corps for eighteen months, and the suggestions made by the commissary for bettering

¹ Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 204.

matters were disapproved.¹ It is, indeed, hard to see why Lee did not interfere to remedy evils which crippled him seriously; but the inefficiency went on. In the department, too, of the provost-marshal-general, the trouble was as great. The system of guards, passports, and permits was in a high degree annoying to soldiers not only on furlough but on duty, giving rise to often-expressed wishes that Lee would take things into his own hands.²

The executive departments in general had many critics. That there was unwisdom in the treasury has been made plain:³ the postmaster-general could not regulate the mails; the secretaries of war and the navy were targets for abuse. Much of the discontent was no doubt unreasonable, but from beginning to end Benjamin seems to have been the only cabinet officer who made his influence powerfully felt.

The ability of the country, in fact, was in the field, and men could not remain in civil positions, even the highest, without loss of reputation. An able-bodied man away from the front, whether a clerk or a congressman, was liable to unpleasant reminders that he might be in a better place; and in this state of public opinion it came about that men inferior in energy and talent made up the mass in the legislatures and departments. Since the debates of the Confederate congress have been only

¹ Long, *R. E. Lee*, 637.

² Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 210, et seq.

³ See Hosmer's *Outcome of the Civil War*, p. 19.

partially preserved, its action has received little attention, but the popular view was that it was unduly subservient to Davis and played an unimportant part. "Congress seems to be doing little or nothing," writes J. B. Jones, January 7, 1865; "but before it adjourns it is supposed it will as usual pass the measure dictated by the President. How insignificant a legislative body becomes when it is not independent! The Confederate Congress will not live in history, for it never really existed at all; but has always been merely a body of subservient men registering the decrees of the executive." ¹

As to commerce, external and internal, while in the war-time the North lost its merchant-marine, the South never had a merchant-marine to lose: before the war the ships of the North and of foreign nations cared for her trade, and during the war the blockade-runners were usually of foreign construction and ownership. As to internal commerce, nearly fifteen thousand miles of railroad existed in the seceding states in 1861;² but notwithstanding the lack of a through line from Mobile to the north-eastward, almost no railroad building took place during the war. No forges, mills, and machine-shops existed adequate to keep the existing tracks and rolling-stock in order, much less to start new enterprises: the rigidity of the blockade barred out importations. Although throughout the war a se-

¹ Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, II., 379.

² *Am. Annual Cyclop.*, 1865, p. 742.

cret and illegitimate trade went on between North and South, connived at by the authorities on both sides, through which first and last much money was made by individuals, yet no supplies came in which at all answered to the requirements of the South. The ordinary wear and tear of a railroad makes necessary constant repairs and replacements, and the southern roads and their equipments were usually light and cheap: the traffic grew heavy with the transport of armies and their belongings, so that the natural use was destructive. As the war progressed, the pressure from the Federal invaders constantly increased, until for hundreds of miles the communications, if not in hostile hands, were wrecked by raiding parties beyond the possibility of reconstruction. Wagon-roads, always poor, went more and more to ruin; the navigable streams became useless through the destruction by the gunboats of the craft that plied upon them.

Hence, transportation, whether by sea or land, became a matter of the greatest difficulty. As early as the spring of 1863, Fremantle, who made a journey throughout the Confederacy, from Brownsville, Texas, to Gettysburg, makes plain the difficulties of travel everywhere.¹ In the fall and winter of 1864, when Sherman had penetrated Georgia and the Carolinas, people who sought to flee by the overtaxed trains often found it impossible. The graphic Mrs. Chesnut makes an amusing reference

¹ Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, passim.

to the trials of an over-stout lady of dignity and standing who was pushed and pulled through the small window of a car the doors to which were blocked by crowds.¹ General Johnston, on his way in 1864 to take command against Sherman, was delayed and endangered in his passage; and Dick Taylor, sent to command the Department of the Lower South, found it scarcely possible, a little later, to cross the Mississippi: it must be done at night; his guides carried on their shoulders from its place of concealment to the river the small skiff, the best conveyance that could be found for a lieutenant-general: the horses swam alongside; the party spoke in whispers, so that the attention of the close at hand Federal gun-boat might not be attracted.² The soldiers of Sherman remember that in marching through Georgia they found food in abundance, and were angry because the prisoners at Andersonville were so near starving. The truth at the moment was that the abundance of Georgia could not be got northward to the Confederate armies; it was equally difficult to send it southward to the prisoners, who naturally to the Confederates were of secondary importance. The apparatus for equalization and distribution failed: for transit of every kind, the highways and the appliances, if not broken to pieces by violence, were ruined through wear and neglect.

¹ Mrs. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 351.

² Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 197.

As to production, throughout the period until the territory was entirely overrun by Union armies, the South remained fruitful. While all the able-bodied white men from sixteen to seventy at last were in the camps, the negroes, under the direction of the old men and the women, tilled the plantations as before the war. The government made efforts, often successful, to promote the raising of a variety of provisions rather than cotton. If what was raised could have been got to market, and if when there transactions could have been assisted by a proper currency, the situation might not have been distressing. As to manufactures, we have seen the heroic efforts made by a people who had heretofore depended upon what they could import, to furnish for themselves clothes, shoes, tools, and machines.¹ On many a plantation, and often in the towns, homespun was woven and dyed butternut, leather was tanned and worked into foot-gear, straw plaited, baskets woven, and wooden-ware contrived, while rough carpentry and blacksmithing were applied to making what was indispensable. Thus life was maintained. The hardships of those forced to live on salaries were greater than those of farmers and planters, living in cities being not by any means as easy as in the country.²

Paper money became at last worth scarcely one per cent. of its face value, and in the disorganiza-

¹ See Hosmer's *Outcome of the Civil War*, chap. iv.

² Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 95.

tion all proper relation of prices was lost. Eggleston bought in the same day coffee at forty dollars and tea at thirty dollars a pound; while a dinner cost twenty dollars, and a newspaper one dollar.¹ The value of money constantly fell, and the temptation to speculate prevailed widely. An article bought to-day was sure to bring more to-morrow, and the scrip, though felt to be worthless, somehow because it pretended to be money was held to be desirable. Speculators fell under suspicion, a fate shared at last by all who had to do with merchandising. The Confederate Congress, which enjoyed so little credit during its existence, perhaps did nothing which helped more towards its disrepute than the funding act of February 17, 1864, upon the principle "that the best way to enhance the value of the currency was to depreciate it still further." The scheme of repudiation proved quite futile, and the condition grew worse to the end. The day before Lee's surrender, a cavalry officer, offering a five-hundred-dollar note for a pair of boots priced at two hundred dollars, the store-keeper could not make the change. "Never mind," said the cavalier, "I'll keep the boots anyhow. Keep the change. I never let a little matter of three hundred dollars stand in the way of a trade."² With flour selling at last at one thousand dollars a barrel, the currency broke down. Foreigners, who sometimes

¹ Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, chap. iv.

² *Ibid.*, 92.

came in on blockade-runners, and were able to afford to the people the rare sight of gold or silver coin, found no trouble in buying at prices near those prevailing before the war. United States greenbacks, too, were eagerly taken at rates not far different from those at the North, a practice which, as has been mentioned, the government sought to correct by statute.¹ A general recourse was had at last to barter, everybody, so far as he could, paying "in kind" for what he purchased.

Education at the South before the war, so far as it was cared for by a public system, was in a rudimentary stage.² The common school led a languishing life in a very few cities, and in vast regions the people were quite unprovided. Private academies and seminaries for well-to-do boys and girls existed in every southern state; above this was an apparatus of denominational colleges, wide-spread and undoubtedly useful; but it was a usual thing for the sons and daughters of the planters to seek the North or Europe for advantages which they could not find at home. At every centre of southern life were men and women highly accomplished, whose culture, however, was gained in distant schools, or from tutors and governesses brought from thence.

At the appeal to arms, the colleges for men were at part closed entirely: while the students went the teachers and heads also often

of the Civil War, p. 21.

¹ (*Am. Nation*, XVI.), 20 et seq.

entered the public service in various capacities. John and Joseph Leconte, as we have seen, when the University of South Carolina was closed, directed laboratories and powder-factories. D. H. Hill and Stonewall Jackson, men trained at West Point, and many more who had been teachers, figured in the front of battle. For children, schools sometimes continued, though much inconvenienced and interrupted in the turmoil. A glimpse into the life of teachers of those days may be had in the following story. The *Richmond Examiner*, "a newspaper Ishmael," charged Mr. Sydney O. Owens, a teacher, with extortion; to which Mr. Owens replied that while his charges were five or six times as high as in 1860, "your shoemaker, carpenter, butcher, market-man, demand from twenty to thirty or forty times as much as in 1860. Will you show me a civilian who is charging only six times the prices in 1860, except the teacher only? As to the amassing of fortunes by teachers, make your calculations, sir, and you will find it an absurdity."¹

In religion, the South has always been more faithful to old doctrines than has the North. While several of her greatest men, like John C. Calhoun, John Marshall, and Thomas Jefferson professed a very liberal faith, the people in general have not followed them. Wherever the Creole French and Spanish prevail, as in the Southwest and lower South, the Catholic church is zealously upheld.

¹ Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 106.

In other regions Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians absorb the community, clinging fast to Biblical land-marks and the sternest traditions of the founders. In the cities and among the great planter-class the Protestant Episcopal church, coeval in its establishment with the settlement of the country, has possessed an authority which though not formally admitted since colonial times, has remained scarcely less definite than that of the Church of England. As at the North, so at the South, the excitement of the war greatly stimulated religion.

At home the churches were aglow, revival followed revival; no regiment departed for the front without consecration; and in the camps a fire of devotion often prevailed not surpassed in history. The leading characters of the period were men full of pious ardor. Scenes recorded in the life of Bishop Polk recall the enthusiasm of the crusades, and his environment, when his strong personality had opportunity to make impression, recalls the Templars and the Knights Hospitalers. Stonewall Jackson made his life as near as he could a perpetual prayer,¹ and he so powerfully swayed his troops that a campaign became almost a long-continued camp-meeting, interspersed with marches and battles. The religion of Lee and Jefferson Davis was calmer, but, it may be believed, not less earnest and profound. St. Paul's Church, in Richmond, is a stately temple, and as a spot where the flower of the Confederacy

¹ Hoemer, *Appeal to Arms* (*Am. Nation*, XX.), 139.

especially gathered, and whence many a leader slain in battle was carried to his grave, it has tragic and interesting associations. One contemplates to-day with reverence the places within its walls where each Sunday the president and chief-general of the Confederacy bent the knee, men sincere, able, and hard-striving, if misguided.

In this time, at the South, the refined enjoyments which ordinarily adorn and afford relief to life, gave way to sterner things: music was mostly silent, except as employed for martial and religious incitement:¹ art ceased to appeal: literature found few votaries, excepting that certain noble lyrics and ballads, like "Stonewall Jackson's Way," and the "High Tide at Gettysburg," showed that there were still poets. Few books were imported; still fewer written and published.² Pamphlets abounded relating to one or another phase of the war: the religious warmth caused the issue of many tracts and sermons; each large town had its newspaper, those of the cities often conducted with ability and playing a great part in encouraging resistance. The straits to which printers were at last reduced were very grave; while ink and presses failed, paper, too, grew scarce until coarse wrapping and wall paper were used for want of anything better.

¹ W. R. Whittlesey, *List of Music of the South, 1860-1864* (Library of Congress, in preparation).

² H. A. Morrison, *List of Confederate Documents and Books published in the Confederacy* (Library of Congress, in preparation).

In struggles like the Civil War in America, it is no doubt usual and natural that the passion of the time should seize especially upon the more emotional sex. To say the least, the women of the North felt as keenly as the men the sentiment of loyalty; and at the South the women surpassed the men, if that were possible, in devotedness. The day went against them, and in the humiliations and injuries which came upon the South through the defeat, women especially suffered. It was their part to endure without the power to strike back; and when, at the close, the country was laid waste by invading armies, as witnesses and helpless victims in the inevitable desolation they had really a harder lot than the men, who at the front found a relief in the excitement of battle. Of course, in such a storm, good taste and delicacy were sometimes torn to shreds. The manifestations of the women of New Orleans which provoked the "woman-order" of Butler,¹ were in some instances not less rough and exasperating than the means taken to suppress them. When the Federal foragers appeared upon estates whose owners were absent fighting under Lee or Johnston, the wives, mothers, and daughters left behind could have no smiles and soft words for the intruders. The bitterest wrath flashed out as a matter of course, and wrath as bitter in the answer; and there was no weighing of words in accusation or retort.

A young woman of New Orleans, who was particularly obnoxious through her demonstrations and activity in thwarting the plans of the victors, framed upon her wall, as her "diploma," a note wherein, over the signature B. F. Butler, it was recorded that "the black-eyed Miss B. is an incorrigible little devil whom even prison-fare won't tame." ¹ At a plantation a Federal colonel, in the parlor, uninvited but aiming to be polite, asked the gentle-mannered daughter of the house to play. She declined, upon which the colonel seated himself at the instrument; thereupon the girl, seizing a hatchet, severed with rapid blows the piano chords. "It is my piano, and it shall not give you a moment's pleasure." ² Eggleston declares that he "never knew a reconstructed Southern woman," and it is very plain even now that while the men often look back calmly on this war, the injuries still rankle in the hearts of the women.

Yet after forty years the embers burn low: even their ancient foes may well pay tribute to the spirit, fortitude, and self-sacrifice of the women of the Confederacy. The suggestion publicly made by one of them late in the war, that all the southern women should cut off their hair and sell it in Europe, where it was believed it might bring forty million dollars, ³ would have been promptly and gladly carried out, could it have been managed. "There is not a

¹ Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 66.

² *Ibid.*, 64.

³ Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms* (*Am. Nation*, XX.), 68.

woman worthy of the name of Southerner who would not do it, if we could get it out of the country and bread or meat in return.”¹ To furnish the nitre needed for powder, women dug up the earth of smoke-houses and tobacco-barns from which it might be extracted. They denied themselves meat and coffee that it might be sent to the army. An invalid suffering for proper food said: “I think it is a sin to eat anything that can be used for rations.” In besieged towns, while nursing wounded men in hospitals, the coolness of the women under fire was always remarkable.² In a party of refugees driven out of Atlanta by the edict of Sherman in September, 1864, a beautiful girl was seen to step from among her companions, and kneeling to kiss passionately the soil she was about to forsake.³ Such tales make up the record of the southern women of the war period: self-sacrifice could go no further.

The behavior of the three and a half million negroes of the South during the Civil War is an interesting subject, and not altogether easy to understand. Unmistakably they rejoiced, in the main, in the freedom which the war brought; and yet there were no attempts at insurrection. John Brown's effort at Harper's Ferry was based on a complete misapprehension,⁴ and perhaps at the South the misapprehension of the negro character

¹ Mrs. McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee*, 341.

² Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, chap. iii.

³ Miss Gay, *Life in Dixie During the War*, 141.

⁴ Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (*Am. Nation*, XIX.), chap. v.

was scarcely less, for many believed that a slave uprising was not only possible but probable.¹

A popular song of the time, perhaps composed by negroes, runs:

“ Say, darkys, hab you seen de Massa,
 Wid de muffstash on he face,
 Go down de road some time dis mornin’
 Like he gwine to leabe de place.
 He see de smoke way up de ribber,
 Whar de Lincum gun-boats lay;
 He took his hat and he leff berry sudden,
 An’ I s’pose he’s runned away.
 De Massa run, ha, ha!
 De darky stay, ho, ho!
 It mus’ be now de kingdom’s comin’,
 An’ de yar ob jubilo.”²

Though in individual instances slaves ran away, the mass of negroes who came to the Federal armies came because the masters had abandoned the slaves. Hunter, commanding in the Sea Islands, declared that the refugees were the whites, the blacks having remained in their places; and in general not only was there no effort by the negroes to subvert authority, but they did not flee from it, awaiting quietly in their cabins the impending deliverance.

In a strange way, the negroes upheld both of the contending parties. The South could not have maintained itself in the field but for the service of the blacks at home, and in every kind of service

¹ Rhodes, *United States*, V., 458.

² *American War Ballads*, George Cary Eggleston, editor, II., 200.

but that of fighting-men at the front: the North was scarcely, if at all, less dependent upon the "grape-vine telegraph," upon the work of the contraband with the trains, on the fortifications—indeed, on the firing-line; and whether serving North or South, the blacks were equally patient, faithful, and effective. When Grant was advancing back of Vicksburg, in 1863, Mrs. Smedes relates that the negroes on her father's plantation remained devoted—showing indeed unusual affection, and concealing property so that the invaders could not find it.¹ At the same time, it does not appear that they objected to those among their number who helped the Union: such departures no doubt were sometimes connived at by those who themselves stuck to the old order. Indeed, it may be believed that the same individuals, while on the one hand protecting and aiding their owners to whom with their warm hearts they felt attached, at another time helped the enemy, the Lincoln men, whose success meant for them emancipation. Some see in this behavior an oxlike stolidity—a temperament without initiative or power to organize, submissive, yielding dumbly to whatever strong white hand might for the moment be raised above them: some feel a sense of permanent gratitude to a race which was faithful under great temptation.²

¹ Mrs. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 209.

² Grady, in Hart, *Hist. told by Contemporaries*, IV., 652, where the speech is quoted.

However it may be explained, it is certain that at the breaking up of the old relations of master and slave there was often mutual respect and affection. "They were our greatest comfort during the war," exclaims Mrs. Smedes. "They seemed to do better when they knew there was trouble in the white family."¹ Miss Gay relates an anecdote of a slave at once naïve and shrewd. She was one day surprised by a request from "King," a valuable slave, that she would sell him to "Mr. Johnson," a man whom King was known to dislike. When pressed to explain, King declared to Miss Gay and her mother a strong attachment, but said that he had been sent by Mr. Johnson to arrange the bargain which he, King, was anxious to conclude, a lot and store in Atlanta being offered in exchange. "I tell you what, Miss Polly, when this war is over none of us is going to belong to you. We'll all be free." By parting with him to Mr. Johnson, who did not see the near ending of slavery, as King explained, Miss Polly might transfer the loss to him, while she possessed comfortably the Atlanta real estate. "He's a mighty mean man, and I want him to lose me." Thus King proposed, in the transaction, to enjoy a triple pleasure: while obtaining his own freedom, to benefit the mistress whom he loved, and to satisfy his grudge against the man whom he disliked.²

¹ Mrs. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 196.

² Miss Gay, *Life in Dixie During the War*, 54 et seq.

Joseph Le Conte, an intelligent and conscientious owner of slaves, "felt distressingly the responsibility of their care; because I felt that those who owned slaves ought personally to manage them, as my father did. I could at any time during the twenty years previous to the war, have sold my land and negroes with great advantage to myself. This I refused to do out of a sense of responsibility for their welfare"; and he found that emancipation took from his shoulders a great burden, though he had fears as to the welfare of his people so suddenly manumitted.¹ Eggleston describes the behavior of his negroes when the white men were all gone. Most of them desired freedom and quite understood the situation: they knew that they had only to assert themselves to make their freedom certain, but they remained faithful and affectionate. At the end of the war they acted with modesty and wisdom, a great, calm patience being their most universal characteristic.²

At the beginning of 1865 the seceding states contained a people overwhelmed by bereavements, by material ruin, by the disappointment of every hope. The face of things was very stern: famine was close at hand to many: in the field there was desperate battle, the ultimate result of which none could doubt. With one or two concrete examples let the story end.

¹ Le Conte, *Autobiography*, 231.

² Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*, 255 et seq.

The rebel war-clerk's entry for January 27, 1865, is: "Clear and coldest morning of the winter. Only the speculators have a supply of food and fuel. . . . My wood-house was broken into last night and two of the nine sticks of wood taken. Wood is selling at five dollars a stick. The thermometer at zero." ¹

Mrs. Chesnut writes, January 17, 1865: "Hood came yesterday. He is staying at the Prestons' with Jack. They sent for us. What a heartfelt greeting he gave us! He can stand well enough without his crutch, but he does very slow walking. How plainly he spoke out dreadful words about 'my defeat and discomfiture; my army destroyed, my losses.' Isabella said, 'Maybe you attempted the impossible,' and began one of her merriest stories. Jack Preston touched me on the arm and we slipped out. 'He did not hear a word she was saying. He had forgotten us all. Did you notice how he stared in the fire? and the lurid spots which came out in his face, and the drops of perspiration that stood on his forehead?' 'Yes, he is going over some bitter scene. He sees Willie Preston with his heart shot away. He sees the panic at Nashville, and the dead on the battle-field at Franklin.' 'That agony on his face comes again and again,' said tender-hearted Jack. 'I can't keep him out of those absent fits.'"²

¹ Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, II., 400.

² Mrs. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 342 et seq.

CHAPTER XXIV

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATE OF THE NATION

(1865-1869)

THE financial and economic condition of the country at the close of the year 1868 was well adapted to promote the era of prosperity which the apparent termination of intense political strife brought to every one's attention. Both the purely speculative and the really substantial elements of wealth-making progress were active. It was felt by many conservative men that the speculative factors were unduly prominent, and that sound development was impossible without important changes in the system of currency and national finance; but the prevailing tone of popular feeling after the election was optimistic, and this spirit was manifest in all phases of industrial activity.

The readjustment of the national finances after the tension of the war had ceased was seriously impeded by the political conflict about reconstruction. President Johnson had little interest in finance, and even less knowledge of the subject, and accordingly the policy of the administration was left entirely

to Secretary McCulloch.¹ The conditions with which he was called upon to deal were full of difficulties. The national currency, October 31, 1862, amounted to something over eight hundred million dollars, in the great majority of forms which the state of war had made it impossible to convert into legal-tender treasury notes to the amount of one hundred and twenty-eight million dollars: the chief element in the currency of the country, though there was no doubt as to whether it was of legal-tender quality, would be held constitutionally objectionable. Taxation was enormously high, and applied to practically every available subject known to fiscal administration. The great problems before the treasury and Congress, therefore, were the reorganization and speeding up of the government; possible reduction of the debt, the re-establishment of a specie currency, and the curtailment of the revenue as rapidly as the waning military expenses would permit.

Of these problems, the secretary believed that the elimination of the legal-tender notes (greenbacks) from the currency was of the first importance. All the insidious and far-reaching evils of an irredeemable paper money he felt were already manifest in the United States: the notes were greatly depreciated, and prices of all commodities were correspondingly inflated; gold was at a premium, and

¹ McCulloch, *Men and Measures*, 377; John Sherman, *Recollections*, I., 384.

² Sec. of Treas., *Report*, in *House Exec. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess. No. 3, p. 17; cf. Dewey, *Financial Hist. of the U. S.*, 332.

the daily fluctuations of this premium, operating on prices, brought uncertainty into every department of commerce and industry.¹ McCulloch's belief in prompt and radical measures for getting back to a specie currency was widely shared by all classes of the people, and was acted upon by Congress. By a law of April 12, 1866, the secretary was authorized to retire the legal-tender notes at a limited rate, and under this authorization the amount outstanding was reduced during the next two years to three hundred and fifty-six million dollars. But during that time a variety of circumstances, among which the general hostility to Johnson's administration played no minor part,² created violent opposition to the policy of the treasury, and by act of February 4, 1868, Congress prohibited any further contraction of the currency.³

The original acquiescence in the movement for immediate resumption of specie payments was part and parcel of the feeling which won general support at the outset for Johnson's plan of restoring the states. Paper money, like disorganized states, was looked upon as an evil but unavoidable concomitant of the war, to be got rid of by prompt and summary action when the war had ceased. The reversal of policy as to resumption demonstrated that no more

¹ The market price of gold during Johnson's administration ranged as follows, disregarding fractions: 1865, 128 to 234; 1866, 124 to 167; 1867, 132 to 146; 1868, 132 to 150.

² Cf. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, II., 332.

³ Dewey, *Financial Hist. of the U. S.*, 340, 343.

in finance than in constitutional law and politics was the restoration of the *status quo ante* to be a simple operation after so long and desperate a civil conflict.

Much of the opposition to McCulloch's policy was directed against his means and method, rather than against the end in view. Thus Senator John Sherman, who was just assuming the high position in public finance which he was to occupy for a generation, strongly condemned the immediate retirement of the greenbacks, though he professed the deepest interest in the resumption of specie payments.¹ His contention was that the country needed all the currency it had, and that sudden contraction, with resultant decline of prices, would bring panic and general depression. This plea for abundant currency, taken up in a spirit different from Sherman's, was the basis of the "greenback" movement which was so prominent in the politics of 1868. If the temporary continuance of the legal-tenders was a good thing, their permanent continuance, it was argued, would be a better thing. If they had saved the nation from disruption by rebels, they would have equal power to save it from oppression by the speculators who controlled the precious metals. On these lines all the familiar sophistry was developed by which in many another place and generation the fiat of government has been proved

¹ For his opinions and arguments, see John Sherman, *Recollections*, I., chap. xvii.

a good substitute for intrinsic value as the basis for a currency.¹

More plausible and attractive to the popular ear than the abstract theory about standards of value were the arguments from certain concrete conditions in the national finances. While greenbacks must by law be accepted in all the transactions in which the mass of the people were concerned, gold could be demanded by holders of some of the government bonds in payment of both interest and principal. It jarred on sensitive Democratic nerves that the man to whom fifty dollars was due as wages or as interest on a mortgage must take just that sum in greenbacks, while he who received fifty dollars in interest on a government bond could at once transform his gold into seventy-five dollars in paper. Between bondholders and the rest of the people there seemed an iniquitous discrimination. Hence the demand of the Democratic platform of 1868: "One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the office holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder"; hence also the demand that in every case where the law of issue did not specifically provide for the payment of gold, the government's bonds should be redeemed in greenbacks.

With an unstable currency and disorganized

¹ For a clever exposition of the greenback theory in its completest form, see speech of B. F. Butler, *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., Sess., 303.

finances no commercial or industrial enterprise, however legitimate, could escape an enormous burden of risk. Hence, throughout Johnson's term there was everywhere manifest that speculative spirit to which the hazards and vicissitudes of the war had given the original impulse. The spirit was in some measure fostered by the state of the national revenue system. Sooner or later a great reduction of the frightfully burdensome war taxes was to be anticipated. When it would come and what it would immediately affect were questions of vital import to industry and commerce. During Johnson's term the decrease of taxation that the condition of the treasury permitted was effected wholly in the internal revenue, the receipts from this source falling from about three hundred and eleven million dollars in 1866, to one hundred and sixty million dollars in 1869.¹ The facility with which this end was attained was in considerable measure due to the resolute hostility with which the ultra-protectionists of the majority of Congress met every suggestion of a reduction in the tariff. Secretary McCulloch's anticipation of a reversion to the ante-bellum system of a purely revenue tariff² was but another of those conservative dreams, like immediate resumption of specie payments and immediate restoration of state-rights, that sprang from inability or unwillingness

¹ Dewey, *Financial Hist. of the U. S.*, 395.

² Sec. of Treas., *Report*, in *House Exec. Docs.*, 40 Cong., 3 Sess. No. 2, p. xvi.

to appreciate the far-reaching revolution which the war had effected in the whole national character and ideals.

///The speculative or gambling spirit in business was fostered not only by the general condition of the national finances, but also by certain notable facts in the development of natural resources just at this period. Petroleum in Pennsylvania, and the precious metals in the Rocky Mountains, were at the height of their spectacular potency in the sudden making and unmaking of great fortunes. Both oil-wells and Rocky Mountain mines had become active elements in economic life just before the outbreak of the war, and a marked increase of this activity was coincident with the end of hostilities.¹ Great numbers of adventurous spirits, for whom the life most suited to their taste was ended by the disbandment of the army, found the best available substitute in the exciting pursuit of the fortune that came to him who could "strike oil," or in the hard and perilous search for gold among the mountains of Montana and Idaho.

///Though the more risky and irregular phases of national progress were thus very conspicuous, the solid basis of prosperity was seen in the steady and substantial development of established agricultural and manufacturing enterprises. The great crops which were the chief index of economic welfare were

¹ Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War* (*Am. Nation*, XXI.), 255; Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Co.*, chap. i.

in 1867 and 1868 altogether satisfactory in bulk and value. Cotton, of course, was not yet nearly restored to the place it held before the war; in view of the social and political conditions in the South, the commissioner of agriculture regarded it as remarkable that in 1868 the yield was half what it had been in 1859.¹ The value of the crop, owing to the very high price, was about the same as that in 1859, and cotton held its old place far in the lead of all our exports. Wheat and corn, the great food crops of the country, showed progress and prosperity in the granary of the nation—the Mississippi Valley. Very significant was the now pronounced movement westward of the centre of wheat production. The proportion of the crop that came from west of the Mississippi was, in 1859, but fourteen per cent. of the total; in 1868 it was thirty per cent.² Minnesota, Iowa, and California were responsible for most of this increase, and this fact stands in close relation to what proved to be the dominant factor in the era of enterprise which moved rapidly to its culmination after 1868. To keep pace with the development of resources, agricultural in the nearer and mineral in the farther West, and to bring the products of these regions into the markets of the older states, required an enormous expansion of facilities in transportation. The Northwest became the chief field of an extravagant railroad develop-

¹ Commissioner of Agric., *Report*, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., 3.

² *Ibid.*, 17.

ment, which affected all other parts of the country as well, and which influenced profoundly the progress, both speculative and substantial, of the agricultural and the manufacturing industry of the nation. The mileage of new lines constructed in the whole country amounted, in 1865, to only 819. In 1869 it was 4102; and in 1872 it reached the amazing total of 7439.¹

A determining stimulus to this form of enterprise was given by the progress and completion of the first transcontinental line. It was universally recognized that the Pacific railway was a work of the utmost political importance — that its utility in guaranteeing the territorial integrity of the Union far outweighed any consideration as to its financial success. Its construction, moreover, in part at a rate never before thought possible, involved engineering and labor problems of great magnitude and complexity, the solution of which excited widespread public interest. ~~W~~With good reason, therefore, the progress of the work from year to year was followed with keen attention. The Union Pacific builders, working westward from Omaha, having only 40 miles finished at the end of 1865, added some 250 miles in each of the next two years, and then, in 1868, with a great burst of energy, added 425 miles, and placed themselves within 125 miles of the end of their line. The Central Pacific, working from Sacramento eastward, made but slow prog-

¹ U. S. Census of 1880, *Transportation*, 290.

ness till the Sierra Nevada had been surmounted; but then, in 1868, added 363 miles to the record, leaving 186 to bring it to the junction-point. On May 10, 1869, the meeting of the lines at Promontory Point, near Ogden, Utah, was effected with elaborate ceremony, and the event was signalized by justifiable jubilation all over the land from Boston to San Francisco.¹

The glamour of romance and adventure that hung over the process of carrying a railroad line through 1775 miles of desert country, overrun by supposedly dangerous animals and unquestionably dangerous men, veiled in great measure many sordid features of the enterprise, which were destined later to make its name one of ill-repute. To insure the construction of the road, Congress enlisted private enterprise by heavy subsidies. For the main line, which was to run exclusively through territories of the United States, from Omaha to the California boundary, a corporation was created—the Union Pacific Railroad Company—to which was given: (1) a right of way through the public domain; (2) twenty sections of land alongside each mile of road; (3) a loan of bonds of the United States to an amount not in excess of fifty million dollars, secured by a second mortgage on the property.² Similar subsidies were granted also to a number of state corporations for the same purpose.

¹ For details, see Davis, *Union Pacific Railroad*.

² Acts of 1862 and 1864, U. S. Statutes at Large, XIII., 356.

of lines to connect with the Union Pacific and insure unbroken communication between the Mississippi River and the western ocean. The vast financial projects in which the government thus became involved called for frequent action by Congress and for continuous supervision by the administration. The financiers who directed the actual work of construction undertook from time to time to insure that their interests should not be postponed to those of the government, and the result was the scandal that is associated with the *Crédit Mobilier*.¹

The progress of the Pacific line across the plains led to great social and economic changes throughout the vast region between the Missouri and California. A ribbon of settlements along the line of the road, through Nebraska and beyond, was the most immediate and obvious, but far from the most important, result. In the mining communities of Montana and Idaho, hundreds of miles to the north, and of Colorado and New Mexico, as far to the south of the line, the actuality of a railway across the mountains added the stimulus of potential benefits to a life that was never lacking in the allurements of hope. Numerous branches to tap the country on both sides of the main line formed part of the general scheme of the Union Pacific, and parallel trunk lines to the north and to the south of the main line were already chartered.² Thus the

¹ *Reconstruction*, p. 232.

² *of the Civil War* (*Am. Nation*, XXI.), 133.

various territories created during the war, as a result of the discoveries of gold and silver in the Rocky Mountains, all felt the influence of the great enterprise. A new territory, Wyoming, organized by act of July 25, 1868, was practically a product of the Union Pacific, no settlement of consequence having existed within its limits till the construction of the road reached it in 1867.¹

To the aborigines of the plains the building of the railway brought a climax of the unrest which first came with the irruption of gold-seekers into the mountains. The great nation of the Sioux, irritated by the establishment of a route to Montana through their lands, broke out into fierce hostility, put under close siege the military posts which were intended to protect the route, and on December 21, 1866, annihilated a detachment of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Fetterman at Fort Philip Kearny.² The conflagration spread to the southward, where the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, of Colorado and Kansas, only recently pacified, spread havoc and terror among the scattered ranches and mail stations of a wide region. All the operations of railroad building in Nebraska had to be carried on under military protection, and the engineers and workmen, many of whom had served in the war, were often called upon to exchange the peaceful theodolite, pick, and shovel for the ever-ready rifle.³

¹ Cf. *Am. Annual Cyclop.*, 1868, p. 727 ² *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 401.

³ Cf. Davis, *Union Pacific Railway*, 140, and paper there quoted.

Extensive operations by the army in 1867 failed to bring decisive results. Sheridan, Hancock, Gibbon, Augur, and Custer, campaigning against the squalid bands of painted warriors, added nothing to the laurels gained in the shock of great armies. A peace commission, constituted by a statute of July 20, 1867,¹ succeeded in the following summer in making arrangements with the principal hostile tribes; but the chief influence in bringing the Sioux to terms was the abandonment of the posts in their territory which had originally roused their ire. The progress of the railway westward contributed most to this, by rendering available a route to Montana to which the Indians raised no objection.²

While all the manifold interests associated with the transportation industry west of the Mississippi were centred about the construction of a single railroad that should make a direct connection with the Pacific, the problem east of the Mississippi was chiefly that of piecing out, correlating, and consolidating a multitude of independent roads into a group of trunk lines between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. It was between 1865 and 1869 that the name of Vanderbilt first became of significance in railroad enterprise. By the union of the Hudson River road with the New York Central, in 1868, a

¹ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XV., 17.

² For this whole Indian matter, see Indian Commission, *Report*, in Sec. of Interior, *Report*, 1868-1869, p. 486; *Am. Annual Cyclop.*, 1867 and 1868, arts. Indian War.

new and powerful through line between the seaboard and the Great Lakes was developed, to compete with the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore & Ohio for the traffic across the Appalachians. From that event dated a long and ardent rivalry among these great corporations in extending their direct lines to Chicago and St. Louis, and in absorbing or rendering dependent a host of lesser companies. Denunciation of monopoly was promptly and loudly directed against the strong men who carried through these enterprises; nor did they, in fact, omit any device of shifty and ruthless financing when serious opposition was to be overcome. But the beneficial results of consolidation were many and obvious. Under unified management barbarous and costly features of primitive railroading that had lasted through the war-time disappeared forever. So long as the idea survived that the chief function of the railway was to supplement water transportation, terminal points of the lines were often at considerable distances from important business centres, connection being completed by steamboats. These gaps were now filled; transshipment of freight and passengers at connecting points of short railway lines was continually reduced in frequency and inconvenience; and the era of "through-line" traffic on a large scale between the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi was fairly inaugurated.

The social and economic movements with which this railroad development was in close relations of

both cause and effect were of profound significance and were noticeable in even the earliest stage of the process. Among them were the drift of population in the East to the great terminal cities, the building up of the northwestern states through the revived immigration from Europe,¹ and the struggle for popular or governmental control over the management of the roads. That it was only the northern East and the northern West which the growing trunk lines united and stimulated was too much a matter of course to excite attention or interest. The ruined and prostrate region below Mason and Dixon's line offered scant attraction to capital or enterprise, and great north-and-south through lines were left for another generation to create.

¹ The annual number of immigrants had fallen during the war to a little over 100,000 (112,702 in 1861); in 1868 it was 326,232.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NEW SPIRIT OF '76

(1876-1877)

THE one hundredth anniversary of the birth of American independence came opportunely to mark an epoch in American history. The material damage wrought by the Civil War was wellnigh repaired by time and industry. The discord in the hearts of the people was disappearing, as the policy of restoring the Union by force was gradually abandoned. How the specific problems of reconstruction were met has been described in a preceding volume of this series.¹ How the beneficent policy of President Hayes eradicated the last evils of reconstruction and hastened a true reunion is to be told in later chapters of this volume.

But there was a reconstruction going on in a larger sense; a reconstruction of industries, an adjustment of new sources of supply to new processes of manufacture, a co-ordination of means of transportation

¹ Dunning, *Reconstruction* (*Am. Nation*, XXII.).

with the demands of population, an adaptation of national vision to the new order of things, and a realization that neither secession, civil war, nor reconstruction had circumscribed the future of the republic. Millions of acres of unoccupied lands stretched invitingly towards the west; vast mineral resources lay undeveloped in the earth; forests covered the mountain slopes and spread over large areas in the northwestern and southern states; and unimproved opportunities for new ways of transportation presented themselves all over the continent and across the adjacent waters. Burdened no longer by slavery and sectionalism, the republic seemed to enter upon a new era of life as it neared the first centennial of its birth.

To celebrate fittingly and in this spirit the year 1876, public thought turned towards a national fair which should illustrate by proper exhibits the century's progress in the United States, and in which other nations might be invited to join. Doubtless the success of the Paris Exposition in 1867 and the Vienna Exhibition of 1873 suggested this form of celebrating the American centennial year. As early as March 3, 1871,¹ Congress provided for an exhibition of American and foreign arts, products, and manufactures to be held in 1876 in the city of Philadelphia, the first capital of the federal republic and the scene of the drama of the Declaration of Independence. The president of the United States was

¹ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVI., 470.

authorized to appoint a board of commissioners to have charge of the enterprise, and also to invite other nations to participate. The national government was expressly held free from expense or financial liability; and by another act, June 1, 1872, a board of finance was incorporated to raise the required capital.¹ By joint resolution, June 5, 1874, the president was authorized to invite other nations to take part in the celebration.² The federal government further patronized the undertaking by erecting a building in which to illustrate the functions and workings of its different departments. A tract of more than two hundred acres, a part of Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, was placed by the city at the disposal of the exposition authorities.

From its inception the enterprise encountered difficulties; previous experience with world's fairs little guided the uncertain steps of its promoters; and the financial panic of 1873 caused many subscriptions to be cancelled, and threatened, if it continued, to reduce materially the number of visitors. Thirty-nine nations accepted the invitation to join in the exhibition. Some erected buildings and others asked for housing at the expense of the finance board. Being now threatened with a lack of space in the six buildings contemplated, the managers hastily constructed additional buildings and annexes, the expense of which, added to the four and one-half millions spent on the main buildings, exhausted

¹ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVII., 203. ² *Ibid.*, XVIII., 53.

their resources. They appealed to Congress to save the project and caused a debate in both House and Senate on the power of Congress to make an appropriation for this purpose, in which the survivors of strict construction made a last stand. The debate marked the passing of constitutional quibbling and showed the helplessness of old doctrines before the new demands of national pride.

Advocates of the proposition to advance one and a half million dollars to the Centennial Commission could find no precedent except the acts whereby appropriations were given for American representation in the London Exhibition of 1851, and the later Paris Exposition and Vienna Exhibition. The total of seven hundred thousand dollars spent for this purpose seemed to have excited little opposition or alarm at the time; but the Democratic opponents of the proposed relief measure for the Centennial board were now insistent that Congress had no power under the constitution to warrant the proposed appropriation. Its defenders waived the letter of the constitution, claiming that the enterprise was entitled to national support because it was national in its inception and organization. One speaker asked: "Where did Congress derive the power to embellish and decorate the grounds and buildings of the Government? Where did it derive the power to purchase works of art which adorn these Halls and add to their attractiveness? Where did it derive the power to purchase the magnificent library of which we

boast? Where did it derive the power to fit out expeditions to explore the polar seas and to travel to foreign countries to observe the transit of Venus? Where did it derive the power to appropriate money on three different occasions to promote international exhibitions held in other countries? Where did it derive the power to encourage art, to promote science, to advance practical and useful industry, to maintain an Agricultural Department, or a horticultural garden, a National Observatory, or a Signal corps?"¹

Many of the acts thus appealed to had been passed by Democratic Congresses, thus placing that party upon the defensive. One member illustrated in his argument the microscopic care with which the strict constructionists had been compelled to search each line of the constitution to justify the action which national growth and necessity demanded from time to time. He refused to accept the easy doctrine of "implied powers" and sought an explicit clause for each statute. The right to fire a salute in the army and navy he justified by the provision of the constitution authorizing Congress to raise armies and support a navy; the erection of the ornamental dome to the Capitol was warranted by the phrase "and other needful buildings"; the purchase of works of art for adorning the building was extenuated by court decisions that pictures were included as part of a building; the appropriations for the

¹ *Cong. Record*, 41 Cong., 1 Sess., 479.

entertainment of foreign ambassadors was vindicated under the power "to receive public ministers and ambassadors"; the polar expedition and that sent to observe the transit of Venus were grounded on the power to maintain a navy; and grants of public lands for educational purposes were warranted by the power given to Congress to "dispose of" the territory and other property of the United States.¹ Henry Clay was jokingly quoted as declaring in the bank bill debate in 1811,² that when any one was in search of ground for a doubtful action he went to the clause in the constitution giving Congress the right to regulate commerce. Yet some of the justifications named above were almost as far-fetched.

Advocates of the proposed measure wished to rise superior to constitutional quibbles such as supposedly went out of fashion in the Civil War, and to ground the appropriation on the right to save the national honor and to promote the national pride. Instances were cited of the appropriation for constructing a tomb for Washington and the money spent in entertaining Lafayette in 1824—each of which could be justified only by the patriotic impulse of the people. "Many things have been done," confessed one speaker, "perhaps not within the strict letter of the Constitution; but we have high authority for the saying, 'The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life.' The power which saved a nation's

¹ *Cong. Record*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., 511, 512.

² *Ibid.*, 510.

life can save a nation's honor." ¹ The appeal to the nation's honor was successful in overcoming whatever of narrow-constructionism, once voiced by Jefferson, by Madison, and by John Taylor of Caroline, survived the fire of the Civil War. "Expediency" had replaced "constitutionality" as the criterion. The bill was passed and became a law February 16, 1876,³ and the financial success of the project was no longer in doubt. In addition to this loan, the government expended on the exposition, by erecting a building, by making exhibits, and by admitting foreign exhibits free of duty, about six hundred thousand dollars more.⁴

Thus relieved of financial difficulties, the Centennial Exhibition was opened in May, 1876, with elaborate ceremonies and maintained until November of the same year. Twenty-six states of the Union and many foreign nations erected characteristic buildings for the housing of their exhibits, in several of which structures native building material was employed exclusively. Some of the principal trades and manufactures also erected buildings in which they showed their products or processes.⁵

The Exhibition had a marked and unexpected effect in stimulating travel. Preparations to carry

¹ *Cong. Record*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., 479.

² See Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (*Am. Nation*, XII.), chap. vi.

³ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIX., 3.

⁴ *Exec. Docs.*, 44 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 74, p. 13.

⁵ Centennial Exhibiton of 1875, *Report*, IV.; *Harper's Weekly*, XX., 422; cf. Dunning, *Reconstruction* (*Am. Nation*, XXII.), 292.

the visitors included the completion of the Bound Brook route from New York to Philadelphia, and an extension of the Lehigh Valley Railway to Buffalo. At least three million individuals must have visited Philadelphia, of whom more than two millions came from a distance of one hundred miles or more. Up to this time Americans had, as a whole, travelled little: the modern exodus to Europe had not begun, and the few returned travellers were always sure of an audience to hear of their novel experiences abroad. Even their own land was to most Americans a *terra incognita*. The man who had visited California was a second Marco Polo or Sir John Mandeville. In Philadelphia the world was brought together in a small compass: most of the visitors for the first time saw the carvings of India, fabrics, bronzes, and jewelry from France, lacquered work from the Netherlands, lace from Brussels, German textiles and dyestuffs, Bohemian glassware, Swiss watches, wrought-iron and earthenware from Sweden, silver filigree-work from Norway, Russian enamels and furs, Italian ornaments, Egyptian embroideries, Mexican onyx, Orange Free State ivory and skins, Hawaiian corals and shells, Brazilian woods and fruits, Chilian leather, and Oriental marvels of delicate workmanship. For the first time, thousands saw Chinese carpenters at work in truly antipodal manner, drank Paraguayan maté or tea, marvelled at the many uses of gutta-percha, examined the wooden clocks from the Black Forest,

were amused by the figures clad in peasant costumes from Sweden and from China, discussed a new floor covering known as "linoleum," and wondered at the cunning workmanship and artistic invention of the almost unknown Japanese.

Even more potent in their beneficent results were the educational and art exhibits.¹ The American educational system had been wrought out largely from subjective experience and suffered from self-sufficiency and complacency. The school exhibits sent from other nations, especially Belgium, were a revelation in the matter of sanitary school surroundings and hygienic conditions. America was deficient, it was also found, in the cultivation of artistic sense and agreeable environment of the school-buildings. Germany and Switzerland excelled all in methods of teaching manual training, beginning with childhood.² Two buildings on the Centennial grounds were devoted solely to the kindergarten methods of training children, and this valuable factor in education was widely introduced into America. In 1873 there were only forty-two kindergarten "institutes" in the United States; in 1878 the number had increased to one hundred and fifty-nine, with nearly five thousand pupils.³

A permanent building of granite, glass, and iron, known as Memorial Hall, housed the art collection.

¹ *Senate Exec. Docs.*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 74, pp. 14-17.

² *North Am. Rev.*, CXXXII., 64.

³ U. S. Comr. of Education, *Report*, 1878, p. lxxvi.

American art was confessedly crude and undeveloped and the exhibit was for the most part made up of foreign productions; but good judgment was shown in making the American collection largely an assemblage of historical paintings and portraits especially appropriate for a centennial display. Great Britain and Austria led in paintings loaned for the occasion, and Italy in marbles.

Notwithstanding the presence of these paintings and marbles, some disappointment was felt by lovers of art that the contribution from European centres was so meagre. America was not yet known as a patron of art. Few works of value had been imported, and American productions of permanence were almost as rare. Only thirteen recognized "art collections" existed in the entire United States in 1876, that of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington and of the Metropolitan Art Museum in New York being most praiseworthy. The buildings of the Centennial did not compare favorably with later expositions, after a refined taste and skilled creators had been evolved.

America made slow progress in architecture as well as in art. Planting colonies and clearing the backwoods required immediate and usable dwellings and other buildings, with little regard for appearance's sake. Time was required for an awakening to the possibilities of the higher art of construction. Yet the Philadelphia display opened the eyes of the American people to the value of art in its more

material aspects of manufacture. Industrial drawing in the schools speedily replaced or gave life to the inane "free-hand"; better designs in fabrics and furniture were brought out; and manual training received a place among legitimate studies of the school curriculum.¹ Men of wealth sought to acquire real works of art for private or public collections, and the artistic factor was introduced into modern American life, without which the present industrial age would be one of hopeless materialism. The bare walls and windows of many school-rooms were soon adorned with works of art and with potted plants. In the home, artistic and rare furnishings began to replace crude and glaring specimens of amateurish handiwork.

At the Centennial, in the popular estimation a painting representing a violin hanging on a panelled door was rivalled only by the Corliss engine. No visit to Philadelphia was complete without a view of these two crowning glories. The "monster" engine of fourteen hundred horse-power was sufficient to move all the machinery in the Exposition.² The people were able to see produced before their eyes newspapers, pins, boots and shoes, bricks, envelopes, candies, tacks, nails, corks, carpets, dress-goods, and shingles. At one place could be seen a method for driving piling by the force of exploding gunpowder;

¹ U. S. Comr. of Education, *Report*, 1876, pp. cci.-ccxii.; 1877, pp. ccii.; 1878, pp. cxcvi.; 1893-1894, pp. 877-950.

² *Harper's Weekly*, XX., 421 (May 27, 1876).

at another a contrivance for unloading vessels by an automatic railway. Pneumatic tubes for transporting small parcels with great speed by exhausting the air in front was a strange device at the time. The Westinghouse air-brake and other contrivances for the safety of railway passengers were objects of special interest. A variety of typewriters was shown, the first of which was put on the market in 1872, although a patent was granted for this object as early as 1829; but the machines were considered novelties rather than necessities. The patent office displayed sixty thousand drawings and five thousand models to show what had been accomplished in America by inventors.¹

The effect of the inspiration of the Centennial Exhibition in its manufacturing aspect was manifest in the increase of engineering courses offered in the colleges and in the founding of new schools devoted to technical education. Under the patronage of grants of public land authorized by the federal government in 1862, the old "farm-schools" had been replaced in the various states by agricultural colleges, intrusted also with teaching the "mechanic arts." Lacking the traditional classical and cultural courses, these led a precarious existence, until touched by the magic of engineering in the dawn of the industrial age. Here were laid the broad foundations for many of the modern state universities and the technical and agricultural colleges which

¹ U. S. Tenth Census (1880), IV.

are credited with achieving for technical education what the sectarian colleges have done for general education. In these schools manual labor has been ennobled and farming has been raised from drudgery to a skilled profession through the application of science to its art.

To this end, indeed, the agricultural exhibit at Philadelphia conduced largely. It was the most novel feature of the exhibition, compared with previous European expositions. The display of farm implements and machinery showed that America was far in advance of other nations in these particulars; and it was argued that the immense space of tillable lands and paucity of adequate labor had combined to quicken the mechanical skill and invention of cultivators of the soil. The food-producing possibilities of the various states were a revelation to the inhabitants themselves. Even far-away Washington territory sent a creditable display of agricultural products and fruits. Among the novelties of the day was the use of Spanish moss from the southern states for upholstering purposes, and "an apparatus for hatching chickens." Bake-shops were established on the grounds to demonstrate the making and to further the use of the crusted bread and rolls known to the Old World. Soon a "Vienna bakery" could be found in every city.¹

The total number of admissions to the Exposition

¹ See the numerous *Guides* and *Hand-Books* of the Centennial Exhibition.

was about ten millions and the admission receipts were nearly four million dollars. To this source of income were added subscriptions from individuals, from the United States government, the state of Pennsylvania, and the city of Philadelphia, swelling the total assets to more than eleven million dollars. After all expenses were met and the loan repaid to the United States treasury, there remained a sufficient balance to return to each subscriber nearly a fifth of his subscription.¹

An interesting sequence of the Philadelphia fair may be found in the increased export trade in the years immediately following. The attention of foreign visitors was called to the superior advantages of certain American manufactures useful in their business, and to the low price of certain raw materials required in their factories. Cheap American food products found a ready market abroad. For instance, "butterine," or oleomargarine, a food scorned by American working-men, was exported in 1878 to the value of almost half a million dollars. Indian-maize, or "corn," it was hoped, would also find a sale in Europe and Asia, being one of the cheapest foods known;² but it was soon demonstrated that popular prejudice would militate against its use except in years when a shortage of wheat or other accustomed grains made a resort to maize necessary.

¹ *Senate Exec. Docs.*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 74, pp. 18, 152.

² U. S. Tenth Census (1880), III., 485.

From this date is reckoned the growing importance of the United States as the food producer for a large part of the Old World. In 1876 40,000,000 bushels of corn and 70,000,000 bushels of wheat went from the United States ports to various foreign lands; in 1880 the wheat export reached 150,000,000 bushels, and that of corn 91,000,000 bushels,¹ being nearly one-third the entire crop of each. In the Centennial year the cotton crop reached permanently the 4,000,000 bales mark, a figure reached before the war only in 1859 and in 1860. In 1881 the crop aggregated 6,000,000 bales, nearly two-thirds of which went to Europe, forming about one-half the cotton consumed there.² The wool crop of the United States was about a sixth of the total for the world; but almost the whole of it was retained for home consumption.³ Only a thousand tons of pig-iron and an equal amount of iron and steel rails were exported in 1880.⁴ Manifestly the United States was destined to become the source of supply for food before her manufactures would be demanded.

The amount of dried fruit sent abroad increased in 1877 twenty times over the amount exported during any preceding year. Ripe fruit also was shipped on steamships in iced chambers, with some degree of success. Still more novel was the experiment of sending dressed beef to Europe in large refrigerating

¹ *U. S. Statistical Abstract*, 1900, pp. 328, 329; *Railway Gazette*. August 1, 1881.

² *U. S. Statistical Abstract*, 1900, p. 331.

³ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 362.

chambers constructed in steamships. In 1876 nearly twelve thousand carcasses of beeves were shipped in this way and the experiment proved that such a method was feasible.¹ Live cattle had frequently been shipped to England and a steady market for American beef had been built up; but the dressed beef could not command so high a price as the live-stock, and the expense of the refrigerators was too heavy to make the practice profitable except in times when cattle were unusually cheap. However, improved methods were introduced in due time, and by 1881 the trade in dressed meat had grown to the value of \$6,000,000. In 1884 the export trade in live cattle amounted to nearly \$18,000,000, and that of fresh beef to \$12,000,000. In the same year, \$34,000,000 worth of bacon and nearly \$25,000,000 worth of lard went from the United States to feed the people of other countries.²

In return, stock raisers imported live-stock for breeding purposes to the value of \$415,000 in 1873; but steadily increased their importations until they reached \$1,245,000 by 1881.³ Percheron horses, Jersey cows, Poland China hogs and other established breeds began to replace the mongrel stock on the farms, and placed cattle, sheep, and hog raising in a class distinct from farming.⁴

¹ *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, XLIV., 84.

² U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Report*, 1884, p. xx.

³ *Appleton's Annual Cyclop.*, 1882, p. 487.

⁴ *Harper's Weekly*, XXV., 266.

It is a coincidence, and probably merely a coincidence, that the Centennial year marked the permanent shifting of the balance of trade in the United States from the import to the export column. In only three years before that date—viz., 1857, 1862, and 1874, did the United States sell more goods than it bought; but after 1876 there were only three years, 1888, 1889, and 1898, when the purchases exceeded the sales.¹

¹ *U. S. Statistical Abstract*, 1900, p. 92.

CHAPTER XXVI

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

(1880-1897)

THE years from 1885 to 1897 cover a period of unsettlement. Action and reaction followed in quick succession. The period lacks definiteness either of purpose or of progress; there was no unanimity of opinion as to the facts of economic life or as to national policy. Old political platforms were not applicable to the new problems. Party politics became confused, and shrewd political leaders were at a loss which way to turn. The result was uncertainty, vacillation, and inconsistency; independence of judgment aroused dissensions, and was frequently rewarded by defeat and retirement from public life.

A Democratic president and House opposed by a Republican Senate mark the first four years; then for two brief years (1889-1891) there was a united Republican executive and Congress; a Democratic

House blocked legislation during the next two years. For an equal term the Democrats were in possession of the executive and the legislative branch (1893-1895), and this was again followed by a divided Congress. Meanwhile there were disagreements within the two parties. On monetary questions the West and South did not agree with the East; on taxation the Democratic party was hopelessly split. Hence it was impossible to secure harmonious development in legislation: a silver law was passed and repealed; within four years two tariffs were put in force; and an income tax was imposed, only to be declared unconstitutional. Futile attempts were made to restrain the increasing power of corporations and organized capital. The addition of new racial stocks to the population and the inefficiency of municipal government also widened the field of agitation. The economic life of the country was unstable; a slow recovery from the depression of 1884 led to imprudent undertakings, while commercial recklessness and legislative error destroyed prosperity. Once more the nation had to climb the long and arduous road leading to confidence and enterprise. At every turn—from recovery to panic, and then to fresh recovery—perplexing problems arose. Some of these were new, such as the control of combinations of wealth, but more were disguised under new forms, such as the relation of public office to party responsibility.

Between 1880 and the beginning of the new cen-

tury twenty-six million people were added to the population, or more than the entire number of inhabitants in 1850. Nearly one-fourth of this increase was absorbed by four older states on the seaboard—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; the other three-quarters were spread with unequal distribution over the remaining area, but was especially located on the western land available for homesteaders, which was being rapidly exhausted.¹ Thus, between 1890 and 1900 the acreage disposed of by the government was roundly one-half what it had been in the previous decade. In 1880 there were five territories which had less than fifty thousand inhabitants each; in 1900 there were only two states, Nevada and Wyoming, that had not passed the mark of one hundred thousand. Homestead entries reached a maximum in Dakota in 1883; in Kansas, in 1886; in Colorado, in 1888; in Washington, in 1891; and in Wyoming, in 1895.

Population quickly followed the construction of railroads through the northern tier of states and territories stretching from Minnesota to Oregon, so that in twenty years the number of people in this vast domain more than trebled. Farmers settled in Dakota so rapidly that single counties with scarcely an inhabitant at the beginning of the summer were well populated by the end of the year.² Rich minerals of gold, silver, and copper were discovered in

¹ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Year-Book* (1898), 327.

² *Appleton's Annual Cyclop.* (1887), 218.

Idaho and Montana; while in Washington Territory timber supplies of great value were opened to a market. South of this border growth, violent changes appeared in the currents of migration. Between 1880 and 1890 population declined in the agricultural counties of western Illinois and eastern Iowa, because of the opening up of more promising land to the west. In the next ten years many farmers in Nebraska, Colorado, and South Dakota, discouraged by the deficiency of water and the intense winter cold, abandoned their homes. Oklahoma and the Indian Territory furnished an outlet, and many farmers moved northward into Canada. Taking the entire area west of the Mississippi, the rate of increase of population was not much more than half as great in the last ten years of the century as in the previous decade. Migration from the state of birth to another state for residence continued to be characteristic of the native population. As late as 1900 the ratio in Iowa of the native whites born within the state to those born without was one to three; in Kansas and Nebraska the native strangers were equal to those born within the limits of the state; while in Colorado the natives were outnumbered.

The Indians did not escape from the pressure of the population westward; their frontier was rapidly disappearing,¹ for their reservations stood in the way of great railway systems to the Pacific. Even

¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VIII., 519.

the Indian Territory, once remote from civilization, was in the path of settlement, and ranchers looked with envious eye upon the vast domains given over to hunting. "The Indian must make his final stand for existence where he is now," said Lamar, secretary of the interior, in 1885;¹ no longer could he be pushed back into the wilderness. With the filling up of the country to the west, another removal of the Indian was impracticable; the immediate problem, therefore, was the adjustment of Indian barbarism to Anglo-Saxon civilization. The alert American, busy with the interests of modern life, would not tolerate the uneconomic use of millions of acres given over to Indian occupancy; and the humanitarian friends of the Indian slowly came to the conviction that a life of dependence upon government rations from day to day accomplished little in the way of permanent progress. A new solution was therefore proposed, the breaking up of the tribal relation and substitution of individual ownership in place of tribal ownership on the reservation.² In 1887 the so-called Dawes bill was enacted, providing for the allotment of lands in severalty; to each head of a family a quarter-section was to be granted, with smaller allotments to others; and in order to protect the grantee against land-sharks and speculators, conveyance of the land thus allotted was prohibited for a period of twenty-five

¹ *Messages and Documents*, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., I., 23.

² *U. S. Statutes*, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., chap. cxix.

years. Along with these material grants, under the Dawes act the Indian in severalty received the right of citizenship. There was hope that when the Indian became a citizen, with the individual ownership of a farm, the system of rations, annuities, and tribal institutions would disappear.

In order to satisfy the land-hunger of the whites, efforts were made to buy from the Indians portions of their reservations, wherewith to enlarge the public domain for settlement by homesteaders. The Indian reservations in 1885 amounted to 225,000 square miles,¹ one-eighth of which would suffice to furnish a half-section of land—320 acres—to each man, woman, and child of the 250,000 Indians west of the Mississippi. The government, however, instead of paying the money directly to the Indians, by whom it would have been quickly squandered, invested the funds for the benefit of the tribes. More liberal appropriations were also made for the education of Indians, until, in 1888, 15,000 Indian youths, or more than a third of the total number considered "teachable," were enrolled in schools.² In 1891 a compulsory education act was passed by Congress, and all children of a suitable age were brought under its jurisdiction;³ for some of them, government day-schools were provided; but the majority were taken from their homes and placed

¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VIII., 355.

² *Ibid.*, 796.

³ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* (1891), I., 67.

in reservation boarding-schools, or in training-schools outside the reservation, as at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, or at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas.

The Indian problem seemed at last in a fair way of settlement; certainly there was outward peace, though occasionally there was an outbreak, usually because of disregard of Indian treaty rights by careless or over-aggressive settlers, and particularly by cattle-men, as was shown by an unwarranted attack upon the Utes in Colorado in 1887.¹ In 1885 the turbulent Apaches in New Mexico went on the war-path, murdered a hundred persons, and threw the Southwest into a panic. The Indians also suffered from the bad management of some of the agencies; rations were stolen by dishonest officials, and renewed charges were made that the government was not living up to its treaty obligations. A long record of such provocations led a portion of the Sioux tribe in Dakota to engage in hostilities in 1890. Medicine-men preached the coming of a messiah who should give the Indians power to destroy their enemies, and ghost dances wrought the tribe up to a religious frenzy. Troops were quickly assembled under General Miles, and there was open warfare, resulting in the killing of five hundred Indians and thirty soldiers in the battle of Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890.

The rich district of Oklahoma — “the beautiful

¹ *N. Y. Tribune*, October 1, 1887.

land"—within the limits of the Indian Territory, was especially coveted by the white man. Lawless "boomers," as far back as 1880, had sought to occupy this land, but were driven off by Federal troops. In 1885 President Cleveland warned off intruders.¹ The land could not be opened up except by executive proclamation; and President Cleveland continued obdurate in his determination to keep faith with the tribes. A horde of restless and angry pioneers crowded to the frontier, and frequently molested the Indians within the territory. Finally, with the consent of the Indian nations, the land was purchased by the government, and President Harrison issued the desired proclamation permitting entrance at twelve o'clock, noon, April 22, 1889.² Meanwhile the border colonies had increased in numbers. "Whole outfits for towns, including portable houses, were shipped by rail, and individual families, in picturesque, primitive, white-covered wagons, journeyed forward, stretching out for *miles* in an unbroken line. . . . The blast of a bugle at noon on a beautiful spring day was the signal for a wild rush across the borders. Men on horseback and on foot, in every conceivable vehicle, sought homes with the utmost speed, and before nightfall town sites were laid out for several thousand inhabitants each."³ Fifty thousand persons entered the territory, and over six thousand were conveyed to Guthrie

¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VIII., 303.

² *Ibid.*, IX., 15.

³ *Appleton's Annual Cyclop.* (1889), 676.

by rail on the first day. In ten years three million acres in this section were added to the area devoted to the production of cereals.

The hunger for land and the belief that the bounty of the government was nearly exhausted was again illustrated in 1890 in the opening of a portion of the Sioux reservation in Dakota, where troops were needed to hold back the eager home-seekers. Although the barriers were raised in mid-winter, thousands acquired title.¹

The continued demand for land gave rise to projects for reclaiming the arid regions of the West by irrigation. In the decade 1890 to 1900 the area of irrigated land more than doubled, and, although the amount was small compared with the total untillable area, its economic importance was great, and the conquest gave new courage to states which had been disappointed in earlier plans of internal development. The government also took vigorous steps to recover the lands which had been granted to railroads in the West, and by them, contrary to the spirit of the law, leased to ranchmen and speculators, who held them in large estates. During President Cleveland's first administration more than eighty millions of acres held by corporations and syndicates were seized by executive proclamation or forfeited under act of Congress and returned to the public domain.²

¹ *Appleton's Annual Cyclop.* (1890), 782.

² Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VIII., 359, 795.

Immigration was responsible for a large part of the increase in population. Between 1880 and 1900 about nine million aliens landed in the United States, nearly as many as in the preceding sixty years during which records were kept. Allowing for mortality and the return of aliens to their native country, the net addition of the foreign-born in the country was nearly four millions. There was, however, a marked change in the character of immigration. Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy helped to swell the western stream of population.¹ Of the total number of immigrants nearly one-third came from these countries, the numbers being approximately the same for each. Norway and Sweden increased their quota, while Germany about held its own. The Scandinavians settled in the Northwest, and constituted an important factor in the growing population of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. The Slavs, Poles, and Italians did not distribute themselves over large sections of the country, but remained near the Atlantic seaboard or settled in large cities in the interior, as Buffalo, Chicago, and Milwaukee.

The growth of municipalities continued unabated; ~~the number of cities with eight thousand or more inhabitants nearly doubled between 1880 and 1890.~~²

In 1880 the urban population constituted less than a quarter (22.6 per cent.) of the total population; by 1890 it had increased to nearly thirty per cent.

¹ Wright, *Practical Sociology*, 51.

² *Ibid.*, 116.

of the total, and by 1900 to a full third. In the North Atlantic division of states, covering New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the city growth was even more marked, embracing in 1890 more than half of the population. This increase was helped on by two new influences—improvement in the agencies of street-railway transportation and the influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe.

The overhead trolley electric traction system was first tried in Richmond, Virginia, in 1888;¹ proving successful on a small scale, it was quickly installed in Boston, where previous discussion had favored a cable system. Other cities followed in substituting the trolley for the horse car. In 1890 the ratio of animal to electric power on street railways in all the cities of the United States was more than four to one; in 1902 the entire mileage was practically electric. This made it possible for a much larger population to live within the suburbs of cities, thus extending the social and economic area of municipal life. More than one-half of the increase in the population of the Manhattan Borough of New York, between 1890 and 1900, was in the Twelfth Ward, north of Eighty-sixth Street, seven miles from the south end of the city. Suburbs were made possible in sections which could not be reached by the steam railroad, so that New York City, together with its

¹ U. S. Census Bureau, *Special Reports : Street and Electric Railways* (1902), 167.

boroughs, grew from less than 2,000,000, in 1880 to 3,437,000 in 1900. Within a radius of twenty-five miles from the city hall of New York there was a population of nearly 5,000,000 at the close of the century. Better transportation facilities led to the concentration of business in large department stores and high office-buildings.

A large part of the increase in population of the seaport towns on the Atlantic was due to the immigration from eastern and southern Europe; for the immigrants from these sources did not quickly distribute themselves over the country. They were deposited by thousands in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, or carried by train-loads to Chicago, or to other interior railway termini. These new racial stocks brought poverty and illiteracy, and aggravated the problem of the city slum. In 1894 three-fourths of the slum population of Baltimore were of foreign birth and parentage; in Chicago, nine out of ten; and in New York and Philadelphia, even a greater proportion. Southeastern Europe contributed three times as many inhabitants as northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore; nineteen times as many to the slums of New York; twice as many to the slums of Philadelphia. The population of the large cities was of a most heterogeneous character. In New York, in 1902, there were 118,000 from Austria-Hungary, 155,000

¹ Commissioner of Labor, *Seventh Special Report* (1894), 44, 72, 160, 163.

from Russia, 322,000 from Germany, 145,000 from Italy, and 275,000 from Ireland.

By far the greater number of the Slavic and Italian immigrants who stayed in the seaport cities of the East were unskilled laborers, who at best could earn but little; their standard of living was low and degraded. There were no houses adapted for their needs; a score of families were packed into a single dwelling originally designed for a single family. Rear court-yards were fitted with tenements which lacked light and air; nor was there provision for public education or recreation. Parks, playgrounds, and breathing-spaces were alike absent. New York City, as the chief port of entry, suffered more than any other city. Handicapped by poverty and ignorance, immigrants looked no farther than the city which first gave them welcome. And, of all cities, New York was the least fitted to receive them as permanent dwellers. A narrow strip of land, surrounded on three sides by water, with inadequate transportation facilities, was ill-suited for housing this new population. This concentration led to overcrowding. In an area of ninety-eight acres in the lower East Side, there were 736 persons to the acre. Twenty-nine hundred and sixty-nine persons were packed into a single block, making a rate of 1724 persons per acre.¹

Rural sections in many states lost in population. In New England nearly two-thirds of the townships

¹ Riis, *Battle with the Slum*, 82.

had a smaller number of inhabitants in 1890 than in 1880. This movement, however, was not confined to the East; Ohio and Illinois disclosed nearly as large a percentage of loss, and in Iowa 686 out of 1513 townships fell off.¹ The relative importance of agriculture to the other great branches of industry declined during the period under consideration. Although the per capita production of staple food products about held its own, the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture fell off 8.6 per cent. The opening up of great areas of farming-land in the Northwest, on which machinery could be used with advantage, brought a great decline of values to the eastern farmers. In twenty years the acreage of improved land on farms in New England fell from thirteen million five hundred thousand to eight million one hundred thousand; many farms were abandoned, and by 1890 official investigations were undertaken in several of the states to determine in what ways population might be attracted back to the country.²

The development of manufactures was the great industrial characteristic of this period. The number of the employes and the value of the product was more than doubled. In this growth the steel industry took a leading part, the value of its output increasing eightfold. By 1892 imports and exports of manufactures of iron and steel balanced, and

¹ Anderson, *Country Town*, 60, 62.

² Industrial Commission, *Report*, X., cxlvi.

henceforth the United States exported more than she imported. Steel was employed for many new purposes, as, for example, freight-cars. Its use made possible the construction of office-buildings running even to thirty stories in height and requiring as much as a thousand tons of steel.¹ Another marked feature was the establishment of cotton manufactures in the South, where water-power, low-priced labor of women and children, long hours of labor,² and the cheap cost of living gave advantages which quickly attracted capital; in less than twenty years the number of spindles operated in factories in the southern states was increased five times, while the North made but little gain. In 1900, North Carolina and South Carolina spun more than one-half of the cotton grown within their limits. Many other manufactures took root in this section, and the number of wage-earners trebled between 1880 and 1900. In Alabama there were five times as many in 1900 as in 1880; in Texas and North Carolina, four times as many; in Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, three times as many. In 1900 these six states had approximately as many wage-earners in mills and factories as Massachusetts had in 1880.

With the construction of railways new sources of labor were drawn upon, as from the upland districts of the piedmont.³ In every direction the

¹ Industrial Commission, *Report*, XIX., 541.

² *Ibid.*, VII., 52, 56.

³ Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 104.

South showed great powers of recuperation and development. The old branches of industry to which she had long been accustomed prospered, and new arts were added to her activity. There was a large increase in the acreage and crop of cotton, principally because the use of commercial fertilizers brought into cultivation tracts hitherto regarded as valueless. The cotton territory was extended into North Carolina on the north and Texas on the south, and cleared pine lands were added to the alluvial districts as a source of cotton supply. Improvements in water transportation also gave rise to a new industry—the shipment of fruits and vegetables to northern markets.

The application of electricity to industrial arts was pursued with eager activity. Arc-lighting was introduced in 1880, and this was followed by the use of the incandescent filament. In 1900 the average annual per capita expenditure on electricity was about \$7.00, which represented \$1.25 for electric apparatus and supplies, \$3.00 for electric traction, \$1.50 for telephone purposes, \$0.75 for telegraphic service, and \$0.50 for fire-alarms and miscellaneous use.¹ These new industries quickened the demand for copper, and new mines increased the output from 27,000 tons, in 1880, to 270,000 tons in 1900—half the world's product. The production of pig-iron trebled in the same period, giving to the United States the leadership over every other nation

¹ Twelfth Census of U. S., X., 157.

in this staple. Here, again, the South showed a remarkable economic development: a great mineral section stretching from West Virginia to northern Alabama, seven hundred miles long and one hundred and fifty miles wide, was opened up, and through proximity of coking coal and limestone to the iron, gave every assurance of an early and successful development of the manufacture of steel products. Alabama became the centre of the iron industry, and this state, which in 1880 occupied the tenth place in the output of pig-iron, rose to third in rank ten years later. In 1890 the South produced as much coal, iron-ore, and pig-iron as the whole country did in 1870. Birmingham, Alabama, began indeed to send pig-iron to northern and western markets.

Down to the panic year, 1893, large additions were made to railway mileage. The greater part of new construction was devoted to finishing the systems reaching through the West to the Pacific coast, and the filling in of branches and feeders. Traffic grew at a still more rapid rate, so that greater burdens were imposed upon the trackage laid down; the train-load was made heavier, the capacity of freight-cars enlarged, and the size and weight of locomotives increased.¹ This required improvements in the road-bed, such as heavier rails, stronger bridges, and a more stable ballasting. The use of the air-brake in freight service made it possible to

¹ Twelfth Census of U. S., X., 245.

run the trains at a higher speed. New construction was subordinated to the problem of organization of railway business so as to secure greater efficiency and economy.

The telephone, which as a business started in 1880, became a part of the machinery of communication. At first regarded as a luxury, it made its way slowly. By 1890, however, it was recognized as a necessary equipment of trade and commerce. With the expiration of the underlying patents, the costs of service were reduced. Its convenience to the home, both for business and social purposes, led to the establishment of exchanges in suburban districts of cities and in small towns, until even the outlying farms were brought within the range of its ameliorating influences. In 1900 there were over forty-two hundred exchanges with nearly two million subscribers, a ratio of a telephone to every forty of the population.¹

¹ Twelfth Census of U. S. (1900), X., 179.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ART OF LIVING

OUTSIDE of the contrast between the native and the immigrant, the eastern man and the western, the farmer and the city man, lies the question of American ideals of conduct. Social life is a part of history, both because "the short and simple annals of the poor" make up the record of the great majority of mankind; and because the way we live affects and deflects political happenings. People eat and drink, and have very decided opinions as to taxes on bread-stuffs and the excise on beer. People like to be in the fashion; yet in a spirit of patriotic self-denial our revolutionary ancestors boycotted English goods. People half a century ago fed the hungry and protected the oppressed; and therefore saw no reason why they should be held back by a fugitive-slave law. People came to understand the importance of education; and statutes against child labor sprang into existence. In a thousand different ways social and domestic life, especially of the common people, finds its expression in the legislation and the government of the country.

So it has ever been. The daily life of the seven-

teenth century in the colonies helps to make the history of that time picturesque. Who would not have hobnobbed with Judge Samuel Sewall, to be entered in his diary as "an entertaining gentleman"? Who would not have liked to discuss with Colonel William Byrd the points of a good negro field-hand? Who would not have enjoyed sitting with William Penn over his proposed constitution for Pennsylvania? The colonies had their agreeable side. Notwithstanding the diseases of the New World, it was a cleaner and healthier place than the court of King James I., who never washed his hands, but sometimes wiped them on a damp napkin. Yet the fathers lived in poverty and hardship, with few houses which people would nowadays think even comfortable; with hand-wrought nails, hinges, and locks; with clothes of homespun, eked out with small importations of foreign linen and cloth; with scanty amusements of any kind, except cock-fighting and similar sports for the coarser sort. Yet people had their courtings and weddings and christenings and comely funerals, with abundant store of drinkables. They even joked in a stately way, and boys called after a famous divine, "John Cotton, thou art an old fool." If social life was thin and eventless, people were the more interested in the affairs of church and state, and liked to complain of "novelties, oppression, atheism, excess, superfluity, idleness, contempt of authority, and troubles in other parts to be remembered."¹

¹ Eliot, *Am. Contributions to Civilization*, 357-359.

Against the narrowness of social life, the South always protested, and in the eighteenth century all the colonies got away from it. The few rich men lived handsomely in houses like the Vassall mansion in Cambridge, later the Longfellow House, and always the most beautiful place of residence in America. They had velvet suits, which they carefully bequeathed by will to their sons; they had coaches and four; they had silver services like that of John Hancock, and proper glasses and no lack of Madeira to fill them; they wore the crimson small-clothes which still adorn the portraits of colonial worthies. Alongside these magnates were the professional men, of whom none but the ministers were well educated or much respected. The doctors, to judge by the account of one of them,¹ were a rude and untutored set, much given to uproarious quarrels over the merits of schools of medicine of which they understood little; the lawyers in New England were still under suspicion down to the Revolution, as a useless set of fellows.

Professional men lived much like the well-to-do farmers, in comfortable houses, surrounded with those families of ten and twelve children which put far into the future the shadow of race suicide. Life was simple and easy because there was little to do. Servants were few, because the older children brought up the younger. The men of the eighteenth century lived in a world rapidly enlarging, with every

¹ *Hamilton's Itinerarium*, passim.

year more commerce, more travel, more ships, more imports, more contact with the world, and a corresponding rise of discontent. It was in its way an artistic period; many of the public buildings of that time still stand to show the excellent taste of our ancestors in architecture, and the skill of the workman in reproducing English types of the Georgian period. The architecture like the people was for the most part plain, practical, and infused with common-sense; there are no majestic buildings or stately public monuments out of that period. The wood-work and furniture of the houses show the same influence of good English taste; and the eighteenth century portrait-artists, Smibert, Stuart in his successive brandy-and-water style and claret-and-water style, and Copley, if they created no school, with credit carried out their function as painters in the prevailing English style.

It would be a mistake to suppose that colonial life was simply a small copy of the English social life of that time. America had no capital, no baths and frequented resorts, no cities, and little of the bustle, gayety, and fashion of even the English county towns. America was provincial, and differed widely from provincial England because there was no titled aristocracy: considering the part played in other English colonies by men of rank, it is surprising how few ever found their way to America; and that only one hereditary title even of baronet was held there. With that sheet-anchor gone, the galley of fashion

could be boarded by anybody who raised himself above his fellows; and the governors, the representatives of official dignity, had to make terms with parvenus by creating them councillors. The colonies contained few owners of landed estates living on their rents; and in no communities of the world have the poor been so well off and the well-to-do so little encumbered with prosperity. Morally it was a rude and boisterous community, with a great deal of hard drinking.¹ Even in Puritan communities there was much sexual immorality, and quarrels and riots were frequent; but the drunkard was pardoned, the libertine felt sorry when he went to church, and the trend of society was towards honesty, thrift, and godliness.

The status of colonial women was much like that of their English sisters, respected, free, safe, good-humored, but painfully ignorant. Occasionally arose a woman like the poetess Anne Bradstreet, the traveller Madame Knight, or that most delightful of new women, Eliza Lucas, of South Carolina, to prove by their pens that women could think. To the great majority of colonial women, however, life was as a later descendant of the Puritans has described it: "Generations of them cooked, carried water, washed and made clothes, bore children in lonely peril, and tried to bring them up safely through all sorts of physical exposures without medical or surgical help, lived themselves in terror of savages, in terror of

¹ Goelet, in Hart, *Contemporaries*, II., No. 84.

the wilderness, and under the burden of a sad and cruel creed, and sank at last into nameless graves, without any vision of the grateful days when millions of their descendants should rise up and call them blessed." ¹

American social life after the Revolution was subject to several new influences which modified it. A few frontier and isolated communities like the eastern shore of Virginia and Cape Cod remained in the colonial condition. Where the population thickened up, city life began and two currents of foreign influence were felt. The first, from 1778 to 1793, was the French, which much affected the American habits of life: the lively French officer with his admiration for the American pretty girl, and the French merchant with his tasteful goods, for a time held the market; then, when the Napoleonic Wars began, Great Britain resumed her intellectual and commercial sway. It was impossible that the old social forms should continue; and the first evidence of a great change was the sudden growth of associations of every kind: the churches received a national organization; secret orders, especially the Free Masons, began to flourish, and societies for social reform multiplied, such as the Colonization Society and the Washingtonian temperance societies.²

As the country developed, people started new industries, wealth accumulated, labor was cheap,

¹ Eliot, *Am. Contributions to Civilization*, 358.

² Cf. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Spencer ed.), II., 111.

lumber and brick abundant; and throughout the United States, especially in the northern sections, building went forward rapidly and the cities began to widen out. This was the Greek temple period, when the marble portico of the Acropolis was imitated in sandstone and stucco throughout the United States; and Bulfinch's combination of the classic and the romanesque in the Capitol at Washington produced the first monumental building in the United States. After 1815 house architecture began to run down, and the plastic arts down to 1860 were at a very low ebb. Trumbull's exaggerated historical pictures and a few portraits are almost the only artistic memorials of that time which are valued by posterity.

In social life the most noteworthy thing was the sudden growth of domestic conveniences. Up to 1800 people lived much like their ancestors three hundred years before, in houses many of which had but a single great fireplace. Now came a series of improvements which put household life on an entirely different footing. The common use of friction matches after 1830 saved an infinitude of pains to the cook, the workman, and the smoker; instead of the iron pots and Dutch ovens came the air-tight cook-stove, an unspeakably good friend to the housewife; for the open fire was substituted the wood-stove, and then the coal-stove, which leaked gas but saved toil and trouble; for the labor of the needle, which has kept feminine fingers em-

ployed from the time of Penelope, came the sewing-machine, rude enough at first, which revolutionized the making of clothing. The term "Yankee notion" became known in trade, and included patent sausage-mills, apple-parers, flat-irons, and a hundred other household labor-savers, which relieved the cares of life and helped to prolong for another generation the era of large families.

In deeper respects the sixty years in which 1830 is the mid-point are significant; and Tocqueville minutely photographed and fixed the characteristics of this time. He finds the American remarkably grave, taking thought for the future life and government of his people. American manners seem to him easy and sincere: "They form, as it were, a light and loosely-woven veil, through which the real feelings and private opinions of each individual are easily discernible." He is struck by an inborn feeling of social equality, such that the American does not easily suppose that his company is declined. Society is "animated because men and things are always changing; but it is monotonous, because all these changes are alike." People move about little, and European travel is uncommon. Young people are treated with confidence and freedom, and early strike out their own course of life. The American girl fascinates the Frenchman, and the philosopher sums up his deliberations by saying: "I have nowhere seen women occupying a loftier position; and if I were asked . . . to what the singular prosperity

and growing strength of that people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply—to the superiority of their women.” The picture painted by this competent observer is of a busy, thoughtful folk, among whom all aptitudes have their part, and who give free scope to the individual, yet are somehow oppressed by their own spirit, and know not how to get out of a monotonous and not very wide or interesting life.¹

The social changes of the earlier nineteenth century were accented after the Civil War, and caused a larger feeling of national life. The war threw several million men into new combinations, widened their horizons, taught them to know one another, broke up barriers. The West, still farther extending, carried people across the mountains and to the Pacific. A flood of immigration brought new ideas, and travel on a large scale took people of American birth to Europe. The South, while distinctly American, had kept up a stricter social system with caste distinctions, but was now opened up for the commercial traveller and the health-seeker; so that the parts of the Union were as never before interfused with one another.²

As in the previous era, the “American passion for physical well-being” brought about refinements of

¹ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Spencer ed.), II., 182, 202-211, 224-236, 242; cf. MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, chap. i.; Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, chap. xix. (*Am. Nation*, XV., XVIII.).

² Shaler, *United States*, II., 310.

domestic life. Cheap transportation distributed fuel and that made possible a variety of new forms of heating hotels, private houses, and public and office buildings. The hard-coal base-burner, the hot-air furnace, steam-coils, hot-water pipes, and electric radiators, each in turn seemed the summit of human convenience and comfort. So it was with lights: for the old-fashioned tallow candle was substituted the whale-oil lamp and the gas-burner, then the kerosene lamp, then incandescent gas and the various forms of electric lighting. In colonial days people communicated by express riders; then came mails carried by men on horseback; in the thirties the mail train; in the forties the electric telegraph; in the seventies the telephone; in the nineties wireless telegraphy. It was the same in household supplies: time was when very respectable people, before they killed a steer, notified their neighbors and sold pieces all round, so that everybody might have fresh beef. The parallel inventions of the sealed provision-can, which came in after the Civil War, and of transportation and storage on ice, brought perishable goods and delicacies within everybody's reach; while the old-fashioned country store, where everything is sold, was developed on a great scale in the city department stores. The foreign system of snug and cramped quarters was introduced into buildings called tenements, flats, or apartments, according to their cost and comfort. The Philadelphia World's Fair of 1876 waked Americans up to a knowledge

of the possibilities in table service, silver, glass, and furniture, so that luxuries long enjoyed by the favored few and nurtured by foreign travel were suddenly multiplied and sometimes vulgarized. Poor indeed is the American family which does not every day gaze upon its own antique rug (possibly made in Philadelphia), its stained-glass window, and its hand-painted oil picture! Remote the hamlet from which at least one person has not gone forth during the last ten years to stay overnight at the Waldorf-Astoria!

The amusements of the people have undergone a similar transformation: before the war the theatre to many good people was a forbidden thing, like a pagan sacrifice to an early Christian; and those who went were drawn, not by the decorations, but by the acting, while orchestral concerts were the esoteric delight of the few. Nowadays amusements are distributed wholesale. The old stock companies which could play anything from "King Lear" to "Bom-bastes Furioso" have disappeared, and their place is taken by musical performances on a descending scale from grand opera to light opera, from light opera to opera bouffe, from opera bouffe to musical farce, from musical farce to vaudeville. Americans are far from being an artistic people, but there has developed an interest in and knowledge of the arts which the country never knew before, due to an impetus which has come from foreign schools and scenes; and distinct American schools of painting, sculpture, and

architecture have grown up. Perhaps the three most distinguished exhibitors in England of late years have been the Americans Abbey, Sargent, and Whistler; in sculpture, MacMonnies and Saint-Gaudens stand in the front rank of the world's artists; in architecture, people ceased to imitate feebly the Capitol at Washington; and the weak Gothic of Vaux and the pseudo-classic Greek Temple gave place to the broad and simple plans of Richardson and McKim, who struck out styles of their own admirably fitted to the American conditions of climate. The Americans have also developed a grandiose tower architecture which makes the spine of New York bristle like that of San Gimignano. Such temples as Trinity Church in Boston and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York; such groups of academic structures as those of Stanford University and the Harvard Medical School; such railway stations as the Broad Street in Philadelphia; such public buildings as the Boston and New York public libraries, the Chicago post-office, and the Texas state capitol—these show what the New World has power to do.

Out of their long experience the American people have built up some definite ideals of social life and human intercourse. First of all they have a standard of physical comfort more exacting than the world has ever known before, due to the great number of people who are so well off as to command their conditions. Most visitors to America are struck with

what Bryce calls "the pleasantness of American life." The houses, which outside the larger cities are still mostly of wood, are tight, warm, and well lighted: it was an American lady who complained on a winter day that she "could not seem to raise a single room above 80° Fahrenheit." Americans are habitually well dressed, and no nation in the world has such a variety and plenty of food. Despite the ill effect of overheated houses, Americans have a high and rising ideal of the conditions of health; they have taken over from their British brothers that absorbing interest in sewers which means pure air in the house and the protection of the water supply.¹ American doctors share in the training of Europe, and have developed schools of medical teaching and research which rival all others. The hospital, the trained nurse, the expert physician or surgeon, the language of health and disease are familiarities in America; and perhaps the time will come when such filth diseases as typhoid-fever will be stamped out in America as they have been in some foreign countries. At any rate, the American has it fixed in his mind that his life can be prolonged by medical skill, and he appeals to it accordingly.

From a people of plain living, with or without high thinking, the Americans have come to have the most luxurious ideals of modern times, in the sense of making the largest outlay for things not necessary

¹ Cf. Muirhead, *America*; Eliot, *Am. Contributions to Civilization*, 33, 34, 183.

for existence. The absence of a society divided by rank, title, and hereditary family leads to a struggle to "arrive" through a display of money. Ladies at a ball may wear a parure of jewels like that of an Indian maharajah; at a girl's coming-out party, twenty-five thousand dollars may be spent for flowers, decorations, and perishable refreshments; and the wealthy man seeks to express himself through an enormous and costly house; while the great hotels have become the Roman baths of modern American life and vie with their prototypes in the display of marble and bronze.¹

As to the ideals of pleasure, the careless joys of the very rich are not very different from those of the middle classes, for the ascetic tradition derived from the Puritans and the Quakers has almost spent its force. Young people continue to dance and get married, to make up theatre-parties, and to spend a disproportionate part of their mortal career over bridge whist. Public gambling is everywhere prohibited, but the bucket-shop, the horse-race, the broker's put and call, and other forms of taking chances against an unseen adversary, are favorite amusements. For a considerable part of the population, including the thousands of college students, with their admirers and friends, the most absorbing amusement is athletic sports; and they absorb the whole male population and part of the other sex.

¹ Eliot, *Am. Contributions to Civilization*, 291-296; Godkin, *Problems*, 311-332.

Professional baseball and intercollegiate football have taken the place occupied by the games of the ancient circus. Nevertheless, many thousands of people find delight in genuine open-air sports and open-air life—in sailing or canoeing, in bicycling, in pedestrian trips, in hunting, and in mountain climbing; and open-air life, if nothing more than in a roof garden, does something for the health and morals of the people.¹

The type of society up to the Civil War in villages, towns, and small cities was a democratic combination of all the well-to-do and respectable people, perhaps a single family standing forth as *primus inter pares*; the boys and girls of the community often were brought up together like one great family. Such conditions can now hardly be found except in the smaller western and southern places. The ideal of organized society is influenced by social clubs, orders, and churches, which tend to set people off into separate sets and groups. In the cities, and even in smaller places, there is a social gradation, uncertain, changeable, and easily passing from one step to another; a few favored spots, especially university towns, breathe a general social atmosphere, in which all people of sufficient education and refinement have a status. Somehow foreigners discover a distinct American society, in which all ages take part; where, though there are no fixed ranks, nevertheless a high standard of courtesy and consideration pre-

¹ Muirhead, *America*, 40-42, 106-127.

vails; and people lead an agreeable, picturesque, and varied life.¹

In this society the most notable ideal is the high respect paid to women. If it is no longer true that the young woman is the sovereign of American society, it is certain that she has and justifies a degree of freedom nowhere else enjoyed. Women freely seek and dignify employments as teachers, in professions, as stenographers, as business women, and thereby achieve an independence and a right to make their own decisions.²

Though America has no hereditary ranks, a growing sense of family is visible, especially among those who can count back to seventeenth and eighteenth century ancestors. There is a Society of Mayflower Descendants, a Society of Colonial Wars, and various organizations of descendants of Revolutionary and later worthies; the Revolutionary Society of the Cincinnati is still in existence, and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion is open to all the sons of northern officers in the Civil War. Libraries are beset by searchers into genealogy, hundreds of elaborate family histories are written, and there are circles where men and women talk of their ancestors as confidently as an English county family. Reverence for ancestors, however, does not extend to grow-

¹ Muirhead, *America*, 26-29, 39, 276; Eliot, *Am. Contributions to Civilization*, 97-100; Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth* (ed. of 1901), II., 752-756.

² Giddings, *Democracy and Empire*, 167-176; Muirhead, *America*, 45-62.

ing children, and a kindly visitor is amazed at the American "small boy," who "sits down before the refusal of his mother and shrilly besieges it. He does not desist for company. He does not wish to behave well before strangers. He desires to have his wish granted." ¹ After all, these precocious and ill-governed American children often grow up into tolerable men and women.

The chief ideal of American society is a sense of responsibility, which goes outside one's own family and neighbors to the great purpose of helping the needy and raising the lowest stratum of society. The public charities of America are magnificent, and no people are doing more to seek the ultimate causes of poverty and crime. No nation has so set itself to the problem of caring for neglected children, and thus preventing crime. No nation does so much by legislation to regulate the conduct and morals of the people.² No people has been more successful in reconciling the social freedom of the individual with the responsibility of the state.

¹ Muirhead, *America*, 67.

² Crooker, *Problems*, 126-128.

CHAPTER XXVIII

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

AS the historian supervises all other branches of learning through his function of recording what they accomplish, so the literary man is captain over men's ideals, inasmuch as through him they find expression. The quaint and disappearing Yankee locution "I want to know!" means not so much inquiry as sympathy and admiration for another's mental processes. But it may stand well enough for the effort to give to the mind an outward expression through any of three media: through education, the means of passing learning on from age to age; through literature, the articulate voice of the people; and through art, the revelation of the inner soul.

In these respects, as in many others, Americans have built upon ancient foundations. To all the colonies came graduates of the English universities, steeped in classics and Hebrew; they at once began to set up schools on the English model, and within six years of the founding of Massachusetts was established Harvard College, followed in 1693 by William and Mary in Virginia. In 1650 the little

colony of Connecticut voted to establish schools in every township, "It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scripture by persuading from the use of tongues, to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth." ¹

For their literature the early colonists turned to the mother country. Was not John Milton a sufficient poet for American Puritans, even if Mrs. Anne Bradstreet piped but a treble note? even if the Bay Psalm Book baldly set forth that

"The earth Jehova's is,
And the fulnesse of it:
The habitable world, & they
That thereupon doe sit"?

In John Smith, Bradford, and Winthrop the colonists developed three writers who are still read for their style, their narrative, and their liveliness. As for art, the southern colonies had no leisure, and the Puritans took no delight in the legs of a man. They had not even means to reproduce the churches of their old home, except a few venerable buildings like Bruton and Smithfield churches in Virginia. Schools, colleges, writers, and buildings, it must be owned, were crude affairs in the seventeenth century, even though filled with a devout and high-minded spirit. So far as outward civilization goes, the Spanish colonies were far in advance of the English in print-

¹ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Spencer ed.), I., 37.

ing, in writing, in education, and in monumental buildings.¹

In the eighteenth century the colonies in every way showed an intellectual advance, and at the time of the Revolution learning, both of the simple and of the broader types, was more widely distributed than in England. A small stream of educated immigrants continued, among whom were the Moravians, diligent printers. Schools increased, and in New England the towns supported the public education of boys. Parson Wadsworth advised his parishioners in bringing up children to "Teach them the Scriptures; charge them to live soberly, righteously, and godlily; endeavour the preventing of idleness, pride, envy, malice, or any vice whatsoever; teach them good manners (A civil, kind, handsome, and courageous behaviour); render them truly serviceable in this world."² Latin schools and academies grew up in the larger places, and new colleges—Yale, Princeton, King's, Rutgers, Brown, Dartmouth, and the University of Pennsylvania. Gifts came from overseas, from Elihu Yale and the Hollises, merchants in London, from benevolent societies. The students began to take charge of their own education, and to have "another Fight with the Sophomores."³ From these educational opportunities the girls were almost

¹ Bourne, *Spain in America* (*Am. Nation*, III.), chap. xx.

² Eliot, *Am. Contributions to Civilization*, 349.

³ Hart, *Contemporaries*, I., Nos. 89, 137, 171; II., chap. xiv.; Hart, *Source Book*, 122.

entirely shut out; yet such intellectual and lovable women as Mercy Warren and Abigail Adams—the Portia and Cornelia of the Revolution—were a sufficient evidence that only half the community had a fair chance at learning.

The intellectual ideals of the period are best shown in the writers of the time. Addison, Goldsmith, and Sam Johnson were national authors read in America, and upon English models appeared works by Americans born. Freneau's verses, Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, and Trumbull's satire of *McFingal* were as well worth while as the English minor poets; Dickinson, Witherspoon, and Tom Paine could excoriate the king or each other quite like Junius; Jonathan Edwards was the most striking and original theological writer of the century; and Benjamin Franklin was not only the most genial and humorous of American writers, he was read abroad, his *Poor Richard's Almanac* was the daily food of the people, and he took his place among the world's writers. The colonists had their artists also, especially Smibert, Copley, who is comparable with Gainsborough, and Benjamin West, who was successful in England. In architecture, Sir Christopher Wren by example built many of the churches, though he never saw them; and the robust and manly Georgian style appears in state-houses and comfortable family mansions. In art, as in literature and education, America as yet had produced little that was original, much that was ingenious; but had gone further than

any other nation in popularizing the simple elements of intellectual life. Most New England boys and girls, except on the frontiers, could read their spelling-book and their Bible, and were accustomed to the intellectual exercises of the pulpit. The Revolution stimulated political writing—the pamphlet, the disquisition, and the treatise—but did not arouse a single novelist or historian or essayist or poet on a grand scale.

Another half-century of preparation was necessary, and the first phase of it was the great increase of schools and colleges between 1775 and 1825. Just as the Revolution was closing, the New England schools became genuinely public, in the sense that they were opened to the girls as well as boys, and that the rural communities were compelled to establish district schools. The pressure was now felt in the middle states, where from 1815 to 1835 public schools were established; but, notwithstanding Jefferson's longing for public education, no southern state had an efficient system of rural schools previous to the Civil War. Improved text-books were introduced, notably *Webster's Spelling Book* and *Colburn's Arithmetic*. Academies were founded, some of them for the education of boys and girls together; and the colleges made great advance in numbers, in resources, and in the number and character of their students.

No date can be fixed when by common consent Americans became more intellectual; but after 1830, in that field as in politics and business life, the condi-

tions are radically different. The public schools up to that time were places where people might be educated rather than where they must be. In the most enlightened states they had poor buildings everywhere, and wretched buildings in the country; insufficient books, little system, untaught teachers, and small sense of responsibility. In 1837 Horace Mann in Massachusetts, in 1839 Henry Barnard in Connecticut, came forward as the first of a class of professional educators; and they set their minds to the problem of reform by training the teachers in normal schools and by educating the public to spend the necessary money. The first thoroughly organized city schools date from the same period; and most of the states passed new general laws, increasing the range of public education; while in a few favored cities public high-schools were set up, even including the girls.¹

Parallel with the improvements in lower education was the development of the first American Universities. In 1765 the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1782 Harvard College, set up medical schools. In 1722 the Harvard Divinity School was established as the first theological school connected with a university. In 1815 appeared the Harvard Law School; and from that time onward the large institutions, such as Yale, Columbia (formerly King's), and the University of Pennsylvania, added new departments or faculties. In 1847 the Sheffield Scien-

¹ Shaler, *United States*, II., 314-322.

tific School was established, the first recognition that scientific professional instruction was a duty of the university. A few enthusiastic Americans who, after 1815, went to Germany, brought home doctors' degrees and a new spirit of investigation and specialist learning. In the same direction moved the University of Virginia, which, as the triumph of Jefferson's latter days; for in that institution, opened in 1825, there was a freedom of study and a sense of the need of high training among the professors which affected not only the South, but was an example to northern institutions.

Alongside these universities grew up separate scientific and professional schools, such as West Point Military Academy, the Jefferson Medical School of Philadelphia, and the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York. Several of the denominations set up theological schools for their own clergy. This advanced and professional instruction reflected a change in the ideals of professional life. Colonial medicine was an empirical science, founded on nostrums; and lawyers were looked upon with suspicion while, except a few university professors of physics and astronomy, there were no scientific men, and the clergy was the only learned profession. By 1830 this was changed: there were plenty of quacks, but also a body of well-trained and sensible doctors including eminent surgeons. The lawyers in and after the Revolution were the accepted political leaders of the country. The scientific enthusiasm of

the time was shown by the discovery of the first practicable electric telegraph by Morse, and by the growth of such technical schools as the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, founded in 1824. The clergy, on the other hand, owing to the growth of new sects, included many poorly educated men, and consequently the cloth lost prestige and dignity.

The same causes that interested people in new forms of education brought about a national literature. Up to 1820 Franklin was the only American writer who could not have grown up in England; even Washington Irving wrote on English subjects or in a traditional English manner. All at once there appeared a splendor of style, a variety of points of view, a richness in the portrayal of human experience, which marks the Americans of that time as a literary people, at the zenith of their intellectual life. The new spirit appeared in the newspapers, which till this time had been stale, flat, and unprofitable. James Gordon Bennett, in the *New York Herald*, carried out a great ideal of collecting news from every possible source. William Cullen Bryant, in the *Evening Post*, Horace Greeley, in the *New York Tribune*, and Henry J. Raymond, in the *New York Times*, made the newspaper attractive by a fresh and vigorous treatment of the concerns of this world; and in all the cities newspapers nourished the intellectual life by their appeal to reason and to the public good. For the first time Americans came forward in fiction. Cooper's novels created a new realm of impossibly

clean Indians and incredibly accurate frontier marksmen; but the people in his books lived and moved and the world had to know them. Then came Hawthorne, that subtle genius, that miracle of combined Puritanism, mysticism, and delicate imagination that Raphael of novelists. Then was the triumvirate of poets: Holmes, the debonair; Longfellow, the sweet singer; Whittier, embodiment of Quaker firmness. Greater than them all, James Russell Lowell, loftiest of American poets and at the same time the most humorous. It was a period of renowned orators such as Edward Everett, the silver-tongued; Henry Ward Beecher and Wendell Phillips, champions of the lowly. It was the day of the essayist, most of whom are obscured by the greater brilliancy of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the nestor and the culmination of American literature. It was the age of George Bancroft and Prescott and Motley, who gave the lives to history as other men to business; and, overtopping all three of them, Francis Parkman, the great American exemplar of the power of the imagination to infuse and explain history.

In every direction but one, since the Civil War, the nation's intellectual ideals have been enlarging, but the sad decline is in literature. As the great figures of the earlier period moved off the stage, few arose to replace them. Artemus Ward was funny, but no substitute for the "Biglow Papers"; Winston Churchill makes his countrymen live, but they are a little like the exquisite cameo figures of Hawthorne.

A national poet does not exist at the present moment. The most encouraging field of American literature, modestly stated, is history, in which there has been a great popular interest; and a group of writers, especially Rhodes, McMaster, and Lea, have shown the intellectual vigor of old times.

As for journalism, the ante-bellum type of an editor expressing himself through a newspaper has given place to that of a newspaper supporting a proprietor. The world is literally harrowed for news, and the Sunday paper is a magazine, an encyclopædia, a library of wit, wisdom, sport, and twaddle. Yet the newspapers were never more influential; the Washington correspondents of the great dailies are more powerful than Congress, for they make and unmake congressmen. The difficulty is that the newspapers no longer look upon themselves as the nation's heralds, who by their trumpet-blasts announce the coming of the sovereign people; the great newspaper is no longer a voice—it is a property. To some degree the old functions of criticism and public instruction have been taken over by the magazines; and no reading-matter is more attractive and vivacious than the illustrated monthlies — *Harper's*, the *Century*, *Scribner's*, and the rest. Nevertheless, the ten-cent magazine has assumed to be the great moral influence of the country, and has undermined the lurid "story-papers" of a previous epoch; but, like the dailies, they all live on advertising, and the ten-cent magazine may go down to a nickel weekly, and that to a

one-cent yellow journal, and that to a take-it-for-nothing-if-you-will-buy-our-soap. If people have not a flow of new literature, they are still free to drink from the old fountains; and the colleges and upper schools nourish literature by analyzing it.

Education has made more improvement since 1860 than in the two centuries previous, and all the states now have public free schools for all classes and races, and many of them also maintain public universities. The rural systems are still very deficient, especially in the sparsely settled southern states; and the district schools are what they always have been, places where only bright and willing children really get an education. The city systems have availed themselves of highly trained teachers, rational school-houses, and expert superintendents, backed up by an intelligent public interest. For secondary education the country is planted with more than six thousand free high-schools, besides the boarding-schools, church schools, and endowed academies for the children of the respectable rich. The great public-school systems have the faults of army life—formalism, marking time, red-tape, and movement by platoons instead of by individuals; but no part of the American system is more subject to converging criticism; if the schools accept a tithe of the excellent advice that they receive, all will go well.¹

¹ For the most incisive and appreciative criticism of American common schools, see Eliot, *Contributions to Am Civilization*, 116, 117, 201-232; and especially Eliot, *Educational Reform*, passim.

As for higher education, Bryce says, with truth: "While the German universities have been popular but not free, while the English universities have been free but not popular, the American universities have been both free and popular."¹ The system of state universities has since the Civil War taken a place side by side with the company of endowed institutions. Congress has aided by an enormous gift of public land in 1862 for agricultural colleges and by annual money subsidies. The northwestern states have had the civic pride to build up universities with thousands of students and annual millions of public expense. One southern state, Texas, and the far western states have followed this example; but in the older northern and southern states the endowed colleges, some of which have thirty millions of wealth, perform the same service. Allied with this double system is a complex of denominational colleges, mostly small and struggling. Thus there is as yet no unity of college system; but about twenty-five powerful institutions are forging to the front and are likely to educate nine-tenths of all the graduate and professional students; and the smaller institutions are taking a position as offering a different kind of education, not inferior in quality, but more limited in scope. Perhaps the most striking and American part of the whole educational uplift is the opportunities for women, who in the East have half a dozen separate colleges of a high type and in the West are admitted

¹ Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth* (ed. of 1901), II., 692.

on equal terms to the public universities and to most of the endowed colleges.

A part of the nation's education is through its places of public enlightenment. There are museums of American antiquities, such as the Field-Columbian, in Chicago, and the National, in Washington. The rich state of Connecticut participates by a glass case in the state Capitol containing a charm of two thousand different buttons. Above all there are the libraries, public and private, university and city, housed in such palaces as the Boston Public, the New York Public, and the superb Library of Congress. If the American people still ejaculate, "I want to know!" the opportunities of knowing are unstinted.

Disturbed and confused as has been the intellectual history of the country, the present intellectual ideals are not difficult to trace.¹ First of all is the sense of intellectual kinship with other countries and particularly with England. English writers find much of their public on this side of the water, a compliment which is little reciprocated. Germany, through the great number of American professional men, teachers, physicians, musicians, and artists trained in their country, and through her literature, is another source of American intellectuality. France is the mother of American art. Those who think at all

¹ Cf. the discussion in Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth* (ed. of 1901), II, 761-766.

look upon themselves as members of a great international brotherhood of intellectual people.

Democracy cannot be said either to feed or to starve the mind, but it does provide food for it. There was a time when Americans were fond of roundabout and turgid expressions, of spread-eagle speeches; but Parkman and Lowell and Emerson and Lincoln, all masters of English style, sprang out of democracy. Democracy encourages and enjoys the humor which everybody notices as characteristic of the American; and is there a more typical American in the world than Mark Twain, to whom all the world owes gratitude for his writings? The orator has lost his favor; even the hero of a thousand after-dinners finds no friends in his downfall. Democracy favors and trains men who can convince by reason and illustrate by wit and fancy; but American democracy is not carried away by rhetoric and does have intellectual ideals which it applies to its great men.¹

The chief obstacle to intellectual ideals is the rivalry of other things. If a man loves power, if he is proud of bringing things to pass which his neighbors observe, money-making is the distinguished career. If he enjoys having an influence over other minds,

¹ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Spencer ed.), I., 61-82, passim; Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth* (ed. of 1901), II., 799-807; Godkin, *Problems*, 45-61; Muirhead, *America*, 128-142, 166, 187, 279; Eliot, *Contributions to Am. Civilization*, 29, 83, 199; Crooker, *Problems*, 28-31; Wells, *Future in America*, chap. xiv.

politics is the direct road to that goal. If he likes to be interested and pleased, it is easier to go to the theatre than to go to college; and easier in college to be a ballet-dancer in a fraternity play than to win a prize for an essay. Reading for amusement runs from the novel to the short story; and people like to be amused just as their neighbors are, so that they buy the "best-selling book of the year." The path of literature is as thorny as the path of business, and is less likely to lead to that distinction in other people's eyes which is so much valued by mankind.

When all this has been said, it does not militate against the hard fact that intellectual men are sought by the nation in every field, though Americans realize that intellectual training does not always or necessarily come from academic surroundings. What the American wants is to see the work of the world done, and those who have the largest grasp, the greatest power of understanding their fellow-men, whether at the head of a corporation, a college, or a government, are the men who fulfil the American ideal of greatness.

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